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ABSTRACT

The 13 chapters in this volume, contributed by specialists from 11 countries, deal with how best to prepare teachers to meet the needs of both minority- and majority-culture pupils who are growing up in plural societies. The chapter titles are: (1) Cultural Diversity and Teacher Education (Maurice Craft); (2) Pluralism and Australian Teacher Education (Anne Hickling-Hudson and Marilyn McMeniman); (3) Teacher Education for a Multicultural Britain (Sally Tomlinson); (4) Multicultural Teacher Education in Canada (Ratna Ghosh); (5) Practice Without Policy: Pluralist Teacher Education in Israel (Abraham Yogev); (6) Unity in Diversity: Teacher Education in Multicultural Malaysia (Molly Lee); (7) Teacher Training and Community Relations in Northern Ireland (Sean Fulton and Anthony Gallagher); (8) Teacher Education and Pluralism in South Africa (Wally Morrow); (9) Training Teachers for a Multicultural Future in Spain (Carmen Gonzalo and Maria Villanueva); (10) Teaching Education in Sweden: An Intercultural Perspective (Gunlog Bredange); (11) Teacher Education and Multiculturalism in The Netherlands (Gerard de Kruif); (12) Educating Teachers for Cultural Diversity in the United States (Ken Zeichner); and (13) Comparative Perspectives and Paradigms (Keith Watson). (MAH)

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Teacher Education in Plural Societies

Teacher Education in Plural Societies

An International Review

Edited by

Maurice Craft

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Foreword

Like other titles in the field of multicultural education, this collection is dedicated to equity, opportunity and individual fulfilment, as well as to maximizing national talent, economic development and social cohesion. Both idealistic and pragmatic concerns apply. It seeks to make a contribution to the so far limited literature on *teacher education* in culturally plural societies, a pivotal point for policy intervention.

The book includes papers from countries in the early stages of social policy in this field, from those where this is an ongoing concern, and one chapter which documents the weakening of a range of established provision in the context of a changing political agenda. Most are concerned with the needs of diverse classrooms, as well as of diverse societies. Two place particular stress on national unity. Plural societies not often featured in the literature are included, as well as those more well-known. The main focus of the book is on *initial* teacher education which clearly presents distinctive challenges and opportunities. In-service teacher education may well offer greater rewards in that the great majority of teachers are already practising and the output of new graduates is relatively small, but this is not fully addressed here.

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Maurice Craft
London
August 1995

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Chapter 4 is a revised and updated version of the paper by Ratna Gosh and Norma Tarrow (1993) 'Multiculturalism and teacher educators: Views from Canada and the USA', *Comparative Education*, **29** (1), pp. 81–92.

Chapter 1

Cultural Diversity and Teacher Education

Maurice Craft

This opening chapter considers the definition of 'cultural pluralism', discusses some of the educational responses to it, and the role of teacher education; and briefly reviews subsequent contributions to this volume.

The educational implications of cultural pluralism attracted a good deal of attention in western societies during the 1970s and 1980s, and they remain a matter of scholarly and professional concern. On grounds of equity and human rights, maximizing national talent, and maintaining social cohesion, these issues continue to exercise many societies. A curious feature, however, is that surprisingly little attention has been devoted to the potential of *teacher education*, despite its pivotal role in the initial preparation and continuing professional development of classroom practitioners, school inspectors, educational administrators and researchers. This volume seeks to make a contribution to a small but growing literature, concentrating in general on *initial* teacher education.

The Social Context

By 'pluralism' is generally meant *ethnic* diversity, diversity of language, descent, attitudes or behaviour, coloured often by religious or physical differences. On this basis, most societies are in fact plural. Connor (1972) estimated that of 132 independent states in 1971, only twelve (9.1 per cent) were ethnically homogeneous. More recently, Van den Berghe (1989) similarly concluded that by the criterion of 90 per cent or more of the population speaking the same language, perhaps 10 per cent of the 150-odd states then represented at the United Nations were culturally homogeneous. Other estimates are equally striking. Price (1990) in his *Atlas of World Cultures*, maps several thousand groups, tribes or peoples worldwide — forty-five in western Europe, for example. Foster (1980) listed fifty-one 'ethnic minorities' in western Europe; and Krejci and Velimsky (1981) identified seventy-three, in terms of a distinctive territory, political status, history, culture, language, and/or consciousness.

So it is diversity which is typical in modern societies, homogeneity is unusual; and as ethnic mixing has occurred mainly through conquest, colonization

and migration (involuntary as well as voluntary), plural societies have often been characterized by inequality and conflict. 'Consociational' states such as Belgium, Nigeria or Switzerland have traditionally pursued stability by compromise, an association of equals, more or less successfully. (Canada and Yugoslavia were until recently regarded as successful). A few states have relied upon domination, South Africa being the outstanding modern example. The majority, however, have adopted *assimilation* — Zangwill's notion of a 'melting pot' — which in practice has usually meant the absorption of minorities into the culture of the dominant group. In recent decades, ideological concerns for equity have weakened the ethical basis of assimilation, and it has become fashionable to recognize and to celebrate the persistence of ethnic diversity. Secondly, outflows of both voluntary and involuntary migration have continued, migrants attracted by a better economic climate and refugees from repressive regimes have moved across international borders all over the world.

Migration, 'a dominant feature of human activity for as long as there have been human groups', as Scott (1989) puts it, has in recent centuries been mainly from China, southern and eastern Europe, Britain and Ireland, and these travellers have spread across the globe in huge numbers — over 60 million from Europe alone, half of them settling permanently in the United States (op.cit.). While most of these migrants have populated North and South America and the Antipodes, lesser movements have involved many other regions and sending nations. In the 1970s, Britain received over 800,000 immigrants from India, Pakistan and the West Indies (op.cit.), and at that time 7.7 per cent of the French population was from overseas, 6.6 per cent of West Germany's, and 5.1 per cent of Sweden's (Cohen, 1987). Germany's new immigrants were from Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia; France received Algerians, Portuguese, Spanish, Italians and West Africans; Sweden attracted Finns, Yugoslavs, Greeks and Turks (op.cit.). During the 1980s the European situation became more complex, with increased immigration from eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and a rapid growth of asylum seekers and refugees from eastern Europe and Third-World countries in Africa, Asia and elsewhere. At the same time Mediterranean countries such as Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal, traditionally senders, began receiving back returning migrants from further north, and attracting others from Africa and farther afield to take up opportunities in their growing economies (Council of Europe, 1992). By 1988, the largest ethnic minority groups in France were from north Africa; in Germany and The Netherlands they were from Turkey; in Belgium and Switzerland from Italy. The Irish were the largest minority group in the UK (op.cit.), although if citizens of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin are aggregated they would form the larger group.

Educational Responses

With the role of facilitating acculturation into the value system, economy and polity of any society, *education* has a key part to play whatever the degree of

diversity. But in the more plural societies and especially those with more recent population movements, there may be a number of particular features. Demographically, migrants are generally younger, more active and at an earlier stage of family-building. In Britain, for example, in 1991 one-third of the ethnic minority population was under 16 years of age, compared with just under a fifth of the white majority (OPCS, 1993), and these characteristics are also found in most European Community states with minority populations (CERI, 1987). This means that even where an ethnic minority population forms a small percentage of the total (as in Britain, with 5.5 per cent in 1991), the proportion of schoolchildren is greater.

Secondly, their educational performance may lag behind. In the words of a recent review:

> In all European Community member states . . . almost always ethnic minority groups do less well in the educational system. They leave school earlier, more often drop out altogether . . . and obtain lower examination qualifications . . . In countries with selective systems of secondary education, children from ethnic minorities are found predominantly in the lower streams, or lower status types of school, and in the shorter forms of vocational education, [and they may be] often over-represented in special education. (Teunissen, 1992)

In Britain, as has been found elsewhere, this differential is related to length of residence and it is disappearing. Further, as an OECD review reported in 1987, social background is a major factor in the underachievement of *all* children, and ethnicity operates as one of a complex of interacting factors (CERI, 1987). Nonetheless, ensuring full equality of opportunity via education is a foremost task for schools.

Thirdly, in addition to improving ethnic minority achievement, and particularly the command of the majority or standard language, there may also be a policy of minority culture maintenance, i.e., sustaining the home language and culture ('celebrating diversity'), both as an expression of human rights and also, perhaps paradoxically, in the interests of social stability and cohesion.

Fourth, and perhaps more importantly in the longer run, there is the education of *all* children for life in a plural society, and this can have several dimensions. There may well be a need to reduce prejudice and discrimination on the part of the majority culture (or of other minorities) within the society; and also for all cultures to cultivate a detailed familiarity and understanding of the dominant culture, its core values and practices, in order to develop a common loyalty in the interests of social cohesion, (which may, of course, be paralleled by minority culture maintenance). Both Molly Lee and Wally Morrow have something to say about this in respect of Malaysia and South Africa (Chapters 6 and 8). In the UK, the *Swann Report* (1985), a landmark in the field, was anxious to broaden the preoccupation with minority needs — important as they are — and stated:

> We believe it is essential to change fundamentally the terms of the debate about the educational response to today's multiracial society and to look ahead to educating *all* children, from whatever ethnic group, to an understanding of the shared values of our society as a whole, as well as to an appreciation of the diversity of lifestyles and cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds which make up this society and the wider world. (Op.cit., para. 1.4, p. 316)

It seems difficult to envisage an adequate education for children of open, democratic societies in the late twentieth century failing to encompass this perspective. Swann went further, to take account of the dimension of *identity*, and continued:

> In so doing, all pupils should be given the knowledge and skills needed not only to contribute positively to shaping the future of British society, but also to determine their own individual identities, free from preconceived or imposed stereotypes of their 'place' in that society. (Op.cit., p. 317)

Clearly, schools in the modern world need to facilitate both social continuity and social change, providing for 'the *minimum* level of acculturation necessary for full participation in society, and the *maximum* extent to which diversity might be encouraged' (Craft, 1984).

These are all central features of education in plural societies. A fifth aspect is the representation of ethnic minorities in teaching, to ensure equality of opportunity and to provide role models for minority and majority pupils alike. Exactly proportional representation may be neither possible nor desirable: differential talents, interests and cultural traditions may well be reflected occupationally (Ghuman, 1995). But a democratic, plural society offering equal opportunities may be expected to reflect diversity in its teaching profession. Similarly, immigrant teachers educated abroad should have the opportunity of contributing their talents to the teaching profession in plural societies, requiring the provision of appropriate in-service induction and a monitoring of their career profiles. This point is returned to later.

The Role of Teacher Education

If the task of education in plural societies is to address issues such as these, it seems extraordinary that the pivotal role of *teacher education* in cultivating a teaching force skilled in enhancing individual opportunities and identity, expanding the talent pool, contributing to the economy and strengthening social cohesion has attracted relatively little attention. Certainly, in the UK its unique potential has been regularly recognized and commented on over a long period by teachers, inspectors, teacher educators and researchers, professional accrediting bodies,

politicians, public figures and government committees, (see the reviews, for example, by Craft, 1981; Watson, 1984; Tomlinson, 1989). However, intercultural awareness is still far from becoming a fundamental element in the initial and in-service education of British teachers; and with the radical policy changes described in detail by Sally Tomlinson in Chapter 3, references to the key strategic position of teacher education are now few and generally characterized by an hortatory flavour. Most of the contributors to this volume have a similar story to tell. Intercultural elements in teacher education have been very slow to develop, and as de Frankrijker (1992) has written of surveys in The Netherlands, 'It is only in very few institutes that multicultural education forms an integrative part of the teaching program.' Grant (1993) puts it bluntly: '. . . the hard truth is that multicultural teacher education has not happened in the United States', and this despite the requirements of the US National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (Gollnick, 1992).

Such literature as there is tends to focus upon preparing teachers to be culturally sensitive to the needs of ethnically diverse classrooms. The equally important (and as indicated by Swann), perhaps greater long-term need to prepare *all* children for citizenship in plural societies generally attracts less attention. Rodriguez (1984) and Mallea and Young (1984) typified earlier advocacies in North America, the latter arguing that 'Canada is a multicultural society, and . . . teacher education programs need to prepare *all* of our teachers with this in mind', not just those who are expected to interact with pupils of varied cultural background. More recently, Garcia and Pugh (1992) also noted that in United States teacher education programmes, multicultural education is generally regarded 'as a minority thing', rather than as 'a global view of human affairs' concerning the evolution and interconnectedness of human cultures. Various European commentators have made the same point. De Vreede (1990) observed that it is generally only teachers of ethnic minority children whose professional needs attract attention; and Perotti (1992) has argued that,

> All teachers should adopt an intercultural approach, even for the most common of situations. Regardless of their subjects and of the origin of their pupils, teachers must be aware of the value, originality and contributions of various cultures.

and he goes on to cite examples from France, Italy, Portugal and Canada. In the same vein, a recent review of teacher education in the increasingly plural societies of modern Europe (ETUCE, 1995) acknowledges its key role in combatting prejudice, celebrating diversity, and fostering intercultural understanding and tolerance. The report comments: 'Intercultural education must be an underlying principle of teacher education', in which 'all subjects must take account of the fact that we are living in a multicultural society', (op.cit., pp. 64–5).

Nevertheless, as indicated earlier, advocates of intercultural teacher education have tended to emphasize the distinctive requirements of *diverse classrooms*

rather than education for all in a diverse society; and these studies have focused upon minorities' learning needs, getting to know minority cultures/learning styles, and changing majority culture student teachers' attitudes towards minorities. To take each of the three strands in turn, where learning needs such as language competence are concerned, intercultural advocacy has more easily found expression in social policy. The CERI (1987) report on immigrant children in Europe, for example, considered only the training of bilingual teachers in its few remarks on teacher education.

The second strand, (minority cultures/learning styles), was succinctly exemplified by Aragon (1973), who argued that 'the true impediment to cultural pluralism is that we have culturally deficient educators attempting to teach culturally different children'. As Gay (1986) later put it:

> Teachers cannot be expected to be effective in teaching multicultural content and working with ethnically diverse students without having had professional preparation for these tasks. (op.cit., p. 155)

Both these commentators were writing in the context of a currently rising proportion of black and other minority children in American public schools, and a falling proportion of black/minority teachers. Others have expressed the same view (e.g., Burstein and Cabello, 1989; Trent, 1990), sometimes describing successful teacher preparation programmes to this end (e.g., Hudson *et al.*, 1993; Noordhoff and Kleinfeld, 1993; Tran *et al.*, 1994). Learning about minority cultures usually involves students teaching multiethnic classes, and participating in community activity or other 'experiential learning' (Arora, 1986; Wilson, 1982; Young, 1993; ETUCE, 1995). Ken Zeichner reports a range of such activities in Chapter 12.

This second strand, becoming acquainted with different cultures, merges into the third, changing student teachers' attitudes towards them and towards multicultural ideas. Hannan's (1985) evaluation of a multicultural BEd (i.e., initial teacher education) course in the English Midlands produced encouraging findings, which were broadly corroborated by Carrington *et al.* (1986) in five English institutions, by Menter (1987) in Cheltenham, and also by Hlebowitsh and Tellez (1993) in the United States. Cohen's (1989) study in four British institutions found first-year student teachers to have had little or no experience of visible ethnic minority groups, and to exhibit 'considerable ignorance' of minority religions, customs and languages. But most held positive feelings towards them and subscribed to a pluralist viewpoint; only a small proportion exhibited hostility. Kailin (1994), on the other hand, reports less positive studies in the United States (e.g., King, 1988), and argues the need for programmes to reduce negative perceptions and prejudice towards minority culture pupils. In general, it seems to be paramount that *theory and practice* should proceed together iteratively to maximize professional learning in this area, neither is likely to be sufficient on its own (Jones and Street-Porter, 1989; Osler, 1994a).

Ethnic Minority Teachers

In a number of culturally plural societies ethnic minorities are substantially under-represented in the teaching force, and this has been an aspect of concern because of the need for role models in both their minority and majority communities (Fuller, 1992). It forms a distinctive focus in the literature, and is touched upon in several of the following chapters. In the late 1980s, about one-third of the postgraduate and over two-fifths of undergraduate initial teacher education courses in Britain were reported to have no minority enrolments at all. In British schools black teachers were said to be on the lowest pay scales, and were claimed to be disadvantaged in promotion and subject to racism (CRE, 1988; Singh, 1988; Searle and Stibbs, 1989; Osler, 1994b); but more recent work with *second generation* Asian British teachers has not found racism to be a problem (Ghuman, 1995). In The Netherlands, de Frankrijker's 1990 survey found very few ethnic minority students attending teacher training colleges (16 per cent had none), and even fewer successfully completing their courses (de Frankrijker, 1992). In Chapter 2 of this volume, Anne Hickling-Hudson and Marilyn McMeniman similarly report a 'low level of representation' and little research on this, in Australian teacher training. Some American studies have reported proactive programmes to stimulate the recruitment of black students into teacher education (Boykin, 1993; Gordon, 1994), and one British institution has undertaken a comparative study of these strategies (Stanley, 1994). But as Ratna Ghosh reports in Chapter 4, a 1993 survey in Canada found that most universities were not actively recruiting minority students into teacher education, and Gunlög Bredänge in Chapter 10 reports similarly from Sweden.

There have also been a number of enquiries into the motivations and experience of ethnic minority trainee teachers. Singh (1988) reported that poor pay and prospects were felt to be a deterrent to a career in teaching by both black and white students in his northern England sample, and Boykin (op.cit.) cited similar observations in the United States. But Singh also reported that, 'the presence of racism . . . in the teaching profession . . . and of racist attitudes of pupils in schools' were one of the major concerns in his Asian sample, and this has been a theme in a number of subsequent British studies. Siraj-Blatchford (1991) in a survey of seventy black students in thirty-four British institutions, identified experience of racism during teaching practice, but also by fellow students, in courses, and by some lecturers; and similar findings were reported in a small enquiry by Maylor (1992):

> Black students in teacher education experienced few *blatant* and deliberate forms of racism, but . . . assumptions about 'race' informed and influenced the relationships between black students and their white tutors and peers, and in particular, student experiences of teaching practice. (Cited in Blair, 1992)

Osler's (1994a) study of twenty-two students in the English Midlands, however, found racism in their teacher education course to be of *less* salience;

and of Ghuman's (1995) sample of twenty-five second generation British Asian teachers, all but one denied any evidence of racism during their training. Other recent British case-studies illuminate different aspects of what is obviously a complex issue. In one large institution, ethnic minority students in initial training reported 'a strong sense of isolation . . . both academically and socially', (Ahmad *et al.*, 1994). Another reported a significant decline in minority recruitment, and in the institution's focus on intercultural concerns (Street-Porter, 1995). Osler's (1994b) study of twenty-six black teachers interestingly reported pressure to conform to black stereotypes by *black* parents and pupils.

In the United States, Bainer (1993) noted another interesting aspect, the problems encountered by ethnic minority students in teaching *majority culture* pupils who are less motivated, less respectful and often far more undisciplined than in their own culture. A further question is whether the presence of minority students enriches initial teacher education, or places burdens upon them. In their survey of sixteen British institutions, HMI (1989) concluded that, 'Their presence is helpful in raising awareness of diversity, and establishing the normality of that diversity', adding that, 'They can make a particular contribution in seminars and workshops, as well as in teaching practice in schools'. This was a point endorsed in Hood and Parker's (1994) study of minority students' experience in predominantly white teacher education programmes in the United States; and in Chapter 12, Ken Zeichner similarly argues that (together with a lack of black or appropriately experienced white *lecturers*),

> . . . the lack of students of color in [United States] teacher education programs makes the task of educating teachers for cultural diversity especially difficult, because of the importance of a culturally diverse learning community to the development of intercultural teaching competence. (Op.cit.)

On the other hand, for Maylor (1992), being regarded as 'professional ethnics' was a matter of concern. In her British study, she found that it was assumed that students' 'skin colour alone was sufficient to endow them with specialised knowledge and expertise of minority ethnic group cultures and customs, regardless of actual cultural affiliation', and it was felt that they would be particularly knowledgeable in handling black pupils' disciplinary problems, (cited in Blair, 1992. See also Blair and Maylor, 1993). Ken Zeichner's chapter also reports US commentators who question whether teachers of colour will automatically affiliate culturally with their students, or necessarily be able to translate their cultural knowledge into appropriate pedagogy and student success (op.cit.).

An International Review

Any review of international developments in education is bound to be selective, and the choice of another — less Eurocentric — group of societies would

doubtless throw up additional or alternative issues. As the following chapters indicate, most of these particular societies share similar dilemmas. There are also unique features in each, with their varying patterns of social structure and ideology, and differing intercultural needs. No two are the same. Education, however, clearly retains a key role. As Wally Morrow puts it in Chapter 8: 'what could be a locus of more crucial cultural significance . . . than schools, and the teachers who teach in them'; and therefore, one might add, those who educate the teachers.

As we might expect, the balance of cohesion and diversity is a theme common to most of the societies discussed in this volume, although it may be interpreted differently in each. In the turbulent political evolution of the new *South Africa*, social cohesion is a prized objective, as Professor Morrow argues in his analysis. The celebration of diversity to be found in Western Europe, North America and Australia '. . . takes place against a backdrop, typically unarticulated, of social stability'. The'politics of difference' is hardly affordable in these early days of social reconstruction. A similar perspective operates in the highly diverse society of *Malaysia*, a nation 'divided by race, language, religion, culture, and to some extent by occupational and regional differences', according to Molly Lee in Chapter 6. There, education is an instrument of national unity, with a standard language in secondary and tertiary education, and common curricula and examinations. Echoing Wally Morrow but from a different historical perspective, Dr Lee argues that while societies in Western Europe and North America may give some emphasis to the needs of *culturally diverse classrooms* within a broad framework of structural uniformity '. . . the Malaysian educational system stresses national unity in the context of structural diversity.'

The diversity of classrooms in the *United States* is described by Ken Zeichner in Chapter 12, where 'students of color' currently comprise about 30 per cent of current school enrolments. Their teachers, on the other hand, are 'overwhelmingly white, monolingual, from a rural or suburban community', and with limited intercultural experience. Teacher education programmes, however, generally offer mainly optional rather than compulsory courses in preparation, involving a minority of academic staff; and Professor Zeichner reports that preservice education probably 'fails to develop cultural sensitivity and intercultural teaching competence'. Much the same could be said of several other societies represented in this book, where the focus has also generally been on the needs of culturally diverse classrooms. *Australia*, for example, which currently has over one hundred ethnic groups according to Anne Hickling-Hudson and Marilyn McMeniman in Chapter 2, (although two-thirds of the population originate from the UK). During the 1980s, large-scale national studies found that the preparation of Australian teachers was 'inadequate for responding to culturally and linguistically different students', despite a decade of multicultural policies in schools. The authors' more recent (1993) study found little improvement, with any provision being offered through electives rather than a compulsory core, and suggesting that, 'many teacher education institutions have not moved beyond tokenism in educating for cultural diversity.'

In Chapter 4, Ratna Ghosh reports that in 1991 about half the population of *Canada* belonged to neither the British nor French groups. But despite this diversity, in general, she says, 'social policy for a multicultural society has not been effectively translated into educational responses in the school system, and much less so in teacher education institutions.' Her 1993 national survey found that most teacher education institutions had no compulsory core element in intercultural studies, and — as elsewhere — most provision was optional. Overall, she says, 'teacher education institutions have been slow to respond to change by assuming that student teachers either do not need to, or will automatically be able to deal with the wide range of cultural diversity in the classroom.'

The Netherlands, historically host to many religious and political refugees and other migrants, and with a major expansion of immigration since 1960 now has some 9 per cent of its population born overseas. As Gerard de Kruif explains in Chapter 11, a sequence of social and educational policies has evolved, all primarily aimed at culturally diverse classrooms; but again, teacher education responses were initially slow. By 1993 the situation had improved, and consideration of the professional skills required for teaching in a multicultural society have assumed a higher national profile. However, the intercultural permeation of teacher education programmes is some way off; and institutions in non-immigrant areas may see little relevance in this work. Like The Netherlands, *Spain* also has varied cultural origins, in its case dating back to the early Mediterranean civilizations. In Chapter 9, Carmen Gonzalo and Maria Villanueva report how a major wave of emigration in the 1960s was subsequently reversed, with the minority population now reaching 2.5 per cent of the total — many of them arriving during the last decade. Multiculturalism in education is thus a new phenomenon, with no government requirements for teacher education and the needs of diverse classrooms, and trainers offering only optional studies. The authors conclude that despite some individual efforts, provision is 'fragmented, isolated and dispersed', in the absence of a clear direction from government, and that Spain's educational system is 'not equipped for the coming plural society'.

Sweden, with its virtually monocultural past has a different inheritance. But like Spain, it has experienced substantial immigration in recent decades, and the population now includes some 10 per cent of foreign origin. An intercultural requirement is featured in the national curriculum for secondary education, and liberal intercultural principles govern the education of minorities. Even so, in Chapter 10 Gunlög Bredänge reports 'slow progress in teacher training institutions to initiate compulsory courses to prepare teachers for a multicultural society'. There has been some improvement since a 1992 evaluation found that institutions 'marginalized' the intercultural dimension. But sensitivity to it will vary according to the number of immigrants in an institution's locality.

Meeting the needs of diverse classrooms has also been a preoccupation in *Great Britain*, where as Sally Tomlinson reports in Chapter 3, teacher education was equally slow to respond to demographic changes. Professor Tomlinson also describes how a thirty-year period of painstaking national development in the field has been 'abruptly thrown into reverse' by sharp changes in government

policy, giving greater emphasis to the marketplace in education and to technical competencies in teacher training, and greatly weakening theoretical foundation studies and any associated preparation for diversity.

But as indicated earlier in this chapter, British initiatives in multicultural education have also sought to prepare teachers in predominantly *majority* culture classrooms to foster tolerance and understanding in their students who are growing up in a *culturally diverse society*. This further dimension of the field is mentioned by several of the contributors to this book, and in particular by Abraham Yogev in Chapter 5. He explains that *Israel* is an extremely complex society with ethnic, religious, migrant and national cleavages, which have led to 'the structural segregation of school sectors, and to some extent of teacher training for each sector [which] impose a crucial constraint on multicultural teacher education'. So, in effect, 'too much pluralism hinders the development of comprehensive multicultural policies', including the preparation of teachers to educate *all* students for life in a diverse society, as well as preparing teachers for such schools as have been desegregated and now have diverse classrooms. This is another unique national formulation in intercultural education. But as elsewhere, Professor Yogev reports that teacher educators have been slow to respond.

In Chapter 7, Seán Fulton and Anthony Gallagher demonstrate that like Israel, *Northern Ireland* has long had a segregated educational system, for Catholics and Protestants, and only 2 per cent of students attend integrated schools. The two teacher training colleges are also religiously segregated, but not the teacher education programmes in the two universities. In this divided society, an energetic programme in constructive community relations involving schools has been underway for well over a decade. Teacher educators in all four institutions prepare teachers to support school programmes in 'education for mutual understanding', and this is a significant part of the effort to make the bridging of cultures more explicit.

Finally, in Chapter 13, Keith Watson considers *Comparative Perspectives and Paradigms*, returning to the starting point of this chapter — 'the complex interethnic mixture that has been the hallmark of many twentieth century nation states'. As he says, given that all but a few societies are to some extent plural in terms of language, religion or other cultural attributes, 'it is surprising that this phenomenon has only truly become a focus for comparative education studies in the past fifteen to twenty years', and that 'there have been few, if any, studies that have been specifically concerned with *teacher education* in plural societies'. Professor Watson notes the structural and ideological variables involved: the extent of federalism (or of decentralization in unitary societies), of government policy towards minorities and minority languages, and the role and status of teachers.

Teacher education in plural societies is thus a complex field, rooted in social, economic, political — and not simply pedagogical — domains. It also involves significant issues of social policy, (as, for example, in Northern Ireland), and its potential would repay greater attention by policymakers. This neglect is mirrored in the academic literature. In the five years from 1990–94, less than

4 per cent of all articles covered by *Multicultural Education Abstracts*, which regularly reviews some 400 international journals in the English language, directly relate to teacher education. Conversely, significant texts on teacher education around the world generally make little if any mention of cultural diversity.

As regards research, this has been variable in quantity and quality, and often focused on provision for diverse classrooms and enhancing minority achievement, rather than on improving *majority* culture (or *intercultural*) attitudes and behaviour; each is important. Most existing studies have been carried out in the United States, and Ken Zeichner (Chapter 12) reviews its great range. But as he says, the evaluation of teaching competence among graduates of intercultural education programmes should be an early priority; and he observes that much interesting work by American teacher educators goes unpublished because of heavy teaching loads and lack of support for research — as it does in the UK, and no doubt other countries too.

In the UK, most enquiries have been limited in scale, sampling and response rate, they rarely use ethnic control groups, and findings vary. In 1986, for example, Tracy's survey of twenty-nine British teacher education institutions found only a 'sporadic and slow' take-up of multicultural ideas; while three years later, the HMI survey of sixteen British institutions (op.cit.) reported that, 'there are positive signs of response to ethnic diversity in enough institutions to provide grounds for cautious optimism'. Overall, the generally poor response of teacher education institutions to cultural diversity worldwide (as suggested by most contributors to this volume), would seem to justify cross-cultural enquiries in greater depth. Such studies might also map the impact of recent trends (exemplified in Britain under the new Teacher Training Agency) to place much greater responsibility on schools and classroom practitioners for the education of teachers. This is weakening the role of tertiary institutions, and reducing the likelihood of intercultural preparation. Research into these changes is urgently needed.

Finally, it is clear that initial and in-service teacher education present distinctive challenges and opportunities in this field, and while it is likely that the latter may offer greater rewards given that the great majority of teachers are already practising and that the output of novitiates is generally in decline, the literature has not reflected this. Here, too, there is great scope for research and development work on teacher education in plural societies.

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Chapter 2

Pluralism and Australian Teacher Education

Anne Hickling-Hudson and Marilyn McMeniman

This chapter reports the findings of a recent national survey of teacher education provision for the increasingly plural society of Australia, and discusses the implications for policy-makers and the profession.

It was largely in response to the planned mass migration from Europe after World War Two and from Asia after the Vietnam War that multiculturalism as an ideology emerged in Australia in the 1970s. Subsequent government policy ended the barriers to non-white immigration (encapsulated in the former 'White Australia' policy), and recognized ethnic minorities, including Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, as communities with valid concerns and rights. These rights included the retention of the expressive, social and religious aspects of their culture within a framework of shared Anglo-Australian values and institutions, and provided limited state support for multiculturalist strategies in government schools and in some media and welfare institutions.

Pluralism and the Australian Context

The need for such strategies and policies is supported by the sheer diversity of the Australian population which is one of the most ethnically varied in the world. Although approximately two-thirds of the 17 million Australians have their cultural origins in the United Kingdom, Australia has over one hundred other ethnic groups, speaking some 120 immigrant languages and 150 Aboriginal languages. The vast majority of people of non-English speaking background (NESB) are from Europe. The largest minorities comprise Italians, Greeks, Germans, and Yugoslavs, with migrants from Asian countries forming approximately 4 per cent of the total. In contrast Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders comprise only about 1 per cent of the population, but as the indigenous inhabitants of Australia they have a unique historical significance (Lewins, 1987).

The early 1990s in Australia have already seen major changes in policy towards Australia's Aborigines. In particular, the advent of Aboriginal Land Rights through the judiciary's support of the so-called Mabo Legislation represents an important milestone in Australia's recognition of the rights of its

indigenous population. This recognition, however, is not mirrored strongly in policies and practices in schools. Schools are finding great difficulty in responding to the movement by Aborigines for bicultural schooling (see Harris, 1991), a movement based on the objection by indigenous peoples to being included as 'just another ethnic minority' (Castles *et al.*, 1988) in the policies and practices of multiculturalism. Aboriginal demands for separate policies and recognition based on their unique situation and role as indigenous peoples, would lead to a curriculum which provided students with the knowledge and tools for understanding and respecting Aboriginal society, while at the same time operating comfortably in the mix of originally migrant groups which comprise the majority of today's Australian population. In a recent review of curricular responses to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education in Queensland (Wiltshire *et al.*, 1994), concern was expressed that despite a number of important developments taking place, 'many teachers have little or no background in the linguistic and cultural orientations of Aboriginal and Islander students, nor do they have facility in the teaching of English as a Second Language.' These authors state that the curricular approach to students who are different is still as Francis (1981) wrote:

> We . . . take hold of these 'disadvantaged' children and teach them with an ethnocentric view to compensating them for failure to be listed among the 'advantaged'. Our aim, sadly enough, has been the removal of difference, rather than the implementation of a philosophy of teaching to that difference.

Within the wider community, multicultural policies have not fared much better. Jayasuriya (1990, p. 55), for example, states baldly that

> Australian multicultural policies have failed to address important issues such as labour market performance, gender inequalities, racial discrimination, and full participation in the structures of society which lay more in the public than the private domain.

Over two decades of multicultural policy have not been able to resolve the fact that many of Australia's inequalities have a sharp ethnic minority profile: unemployment rates among Aborigines, Lebanese and some groups of Asians are between 30 per cent and 40 per cent, compared with a national average of up to 10 per cent. Aborigines continue to suffer the highest rates of infant mortality and inadequate housing. Further, Aborigines and other ethnic minorities 'of colour' are often targets of racial abuse and image distortion (Hickling-Hudson, 1990). In a series of large-scale national studies in the 1980s (Campbell and McMeniman, 1985), the researchers found that the pre-service and in-service preparation of teachers was inadequate for responding to culturally and linguistically different students. For example, after over a decade of multicultural policies in schools, a student teacher could complete a professional education

programme without a systematic, if any, exposure to ideas on how to foster the development of these students, and to capitalize on the rich diversity that they bring to the educational setting. As a result, many general teachers had little understanding of the cultural, affective, and cognitive orientations of these students. Further, such teachers are unable to encourage *all* students to benefit from Australia's cultural diversity in terms of language and literary resources, a sharing of different perspectives, and an understanding of global issues.

The cultural and linguistic diversity of students underscores the inappropriateness of an exclusively Anglocentric, monocultural curriculum. Educational practice is notoriously resistant to change (Fullan, 1991), and this is reflected in the limited improvements in teacher education a decade later. Despite the inclusion of 'cultural understandings' in the key competencies with which all Australian students should graduate, Australian teacher education institutions are slow to take up the challenge of providing systematic and adequate courses in multicultural and anti-racist education for teachers. As is pointed out in a recent study by the authors of this chapter (Hickling-Hudson and McMeniman, 1993), many teacher educators appear at a loss as to how to respond to the three goals of multicultural education:

- to meet the needs of ethnically diverse students;
- to achieve goals of intercultural understanding through the curriculum; and
- to lay a foundation which would encourage students to challenge the ethnic-racial oppression which still occurs in their society.

However impressive recent government policy may be, there is scant evidence that this is reflected pervasively throughout teacher education courses.

In 1992, the authors carried out a national study of teacher education faculties in Australia. Thirty-four faculties participated in the study in which data were collected by individual telephone interviews and follow-up correspondence. This study which is reported in detail elsewhere (Hickling-Hudson and McMeniman, op.cit.) showed that specialist multicultural subjects are more likely to be offered as electives, and subjects which make only passing reference to cultural and linguistic diversity are more likely to be compulsory. Specialist multicultural subjects appear not to be valued highly enough to be included as core compulsory aspects of teacher education throughout Australia; and some institutions still do not include a multicultural component in the core units for all teacher trainees. This suggests that many teacher education institutions have not moved beyond tokenism in educating for cultural diversity, offering only a limited acknowledgment that schools are educating a multiethnic population for living in a multicultural society. The policy level may be impressive (including the claim that cultural sensitivity permeates all teacher education courses), but the reality is sobering.

Given that Australia is one of the most ethnically plural nations in the world, and that its record for positive responses to this diversity is not strong,

it is essential that teachers, among others, play their part in contributing towards intercultural understanding and to challenging discrimination. At the structural level, teacher education courses differ widely in their emphasis on intercultural studies, from those in which multiculturalism permeates the whole curriculum to those typified by little more than token multicultural content. Two programmes representative of this typology were drawn from the 1992 study, and for the purposes of this chapter we investigated what the programmes now look like in their 1995 context.

Responsiveness of Teacher Education in Australia to Intercultural Curricular Design

The typical response from leaders of teacher education faculties when discussing the intercultural preparation of teachers is that all courses include subjects which stress sensitivity to student difference. While we do not disagree that this may be the case, we have to ask whether sensitivity to difference in some subjects is enough to constitute intercultural preparation. Our review of the course structure of the major education degrees, and our experience as teacher educators, suggest that many students are not given adequate preparation for teaching in a culturally plural society. It takes place for some students, but by no means for all. What we describe as Type 1 programmes provide intercultural preparation in an '*ad hoc*' way — it sometimes occurs, but is not guaranteed in the course structure. In contrast, Type 2 programmes take a structured approach to intercultural preparation by making it a compulsory part of teacher education courses.

Type 1 Programme: Ad Hoc Intercultural Preparation

The flaw in course structure in universities providing Type 1 teacher education programmes is that, while excellent specialist subjects in multicultural and indigenous education are offered, they are electives and not compulsory subjects. Across a range of degrees and diplomas (for example, Bachelor of Education with primary, secondary, or adult and vocational specializations, Graduate Diploma in Education, and Master of Education), the majority of students can complete the entire course without studying a single intercultural subject. For example, at one university which we studied in 1995, of some 460 students in the final year cohort of the Bachelor of Education degree, there were about 180 student enrolments in specialist intercultural subjects. Some 120 had elected to take specializations in indigenous education, and about sixty chose multicultural education specializations. Only two electives can be taken and these only in the fourth and final year of the course, which means that some students had encountered very little multicultural or indigenous content in the preceding three years of their course.

The extent of intercultural preparation of students who did *not* choose multicultural or indigenous education subjects depended on three factors: their choice of main subject disciplines, their choice of elective subjects, and the interests of their lecturers. Students being prepared as secondary school teachers have to study two disciplines. Some disciplines such as history/social studies, media studies and languages incorporate studies of a variety of cultures as well as intercultural issues in the Australian context. Other disciplines, particularly those in the scientific, mathematical, physical education and business fields, tend not to be designed within a consciously cultural framework, and rarely incorporate intercultural issues. Thus, in these disciplines, the extent to which intercultural issues are studied depends on the interest of the lecturer. The same is true of the compulsory professional subjects which prepare teachers in the sociological, psychological and pedagogical aspects of education. These offer topics on the educational implications of gender, social class, curriculum methods, psychological development, political policymaking and other contextual matters. The implications of ethnicity and culture are included in most of these contextual subjects, but generally only as a small component of the semester-long timetable. Some lecturers may devote one or more lectures to this topic, while others may only devote a part of a lecture.

The perceptions of students in this university case-study support these observations. Student comments included:

> I don't feel that the subjects in the teacher education programme provided any specific knowledge and skills to implement a multicultural/anti-racist curriculum. The only knowledge and experience I have had has been at my own expense and time prior to university. The knowledge that we are given at uni is generally very broad and brief.

> The discipline areas I studied did not give anything other than an Anglo-Saxon view of society . . . All the content and curriculum is directed to assist Anglo-Saxon students. All curriculum assumes that students are from Anglo-Saxon, upper-class backgrounds.

> My discipline areas gave me a greater awareness of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural differences, and how these are expressed in film . . . [They] have provided me with a wide variety of resources, and knowledge of a wide variety of countries (China, Japan, Indonesia, Australia, the South Pacific, to name a few). These could all be incorporated to provide a multicultural/anti-racist curriculum. NB. Racism came from ignorance.

Several students commented that the multicultural elective was the only subject that prepared them for intercultural curricula:

> By studying this subject I've been made aware that a teacher doesn't need to have a multicultural class/school to teach multicultural education. We *all* learn from and enrich our society by learning about cultures other than our own.

> This subject made me aware of the different needs in our society and the necessity to address those needs, for example Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander needs and how problems in their education can develop, and where we can get information to redesign curriculum.

Type 2 Programme: Emphasis on Indigenous Issues

This university is in a state with a large Aboriginal population as well as an ethnically diverse urban population. In response to this cultural diversity, the Faculty of Education has developed a timetabling system which, by making some specialist intercultural subjects compulsory, removes the *ad hoc* nature of intercultural preparation from some teacher education courses (the three-year Bachelor of Teaching primary/early childhood which converts into a Bachelor of Education with the addition of a fourth year, and the one-year Graduate Diploma of secondary education). However, this is not yet the case with all courses. The Bachelor of Teaching adult/vocational and the graduate diplomas in some areas of education (e.g., educational computing and adult/vocational education) include elective but not compulsory intercultural subjects. It is worth considering the course structure of the Bachelor of Teaching to determine how intercultural studies pervade the degree.

The B. Teach. requires students to take two core intercultural subjects. 'Social justice and cultural diversity' introduces students to broad intercultural issues in the first year, while 'Aboriginal and Islander studies' stresses an indigenous focus in the second year. This university is one of the few in the country with a Faculty of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies, and the second year subject 'Aboriginal and Islander studies' is taught by a member of staff from this Faculty. As well as these intercultural subject specializations, B. Teach. students are required to take 'Schooling in context', a core foundation subject with an intercultural component. Additionally, some compulsory subjects are conceptualized within an explicitly cultural framework, such as the first year subject 'Cultural origins of mathematics', and the third year subject 'Language, pedagogy and difference'. One specialization in the fourth year of study, 'Aboriginal education', offers a wide selection of intercultural subjects. These are not offered in most of the other specializations (in educational administration, maths and science education, physical education etc.), but students in these specializations can access several intercultural subjects from other areas if they choose to do so.

Initially, all students in the Type 2 programme are involved in values clarification relating to child socialization and education in both western and Aboriginal contexts, in a subject that pays particular attention to the diverse peoples and cultures of the particular state. In a subsequent subject, students are taken through a programme of attitude development with a focus on countering racism. The third compulsory subject invites them to explore the social and cultural aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, and the goals

of education in an intercultural context. The ethos of these subjects is to help students strive to contribute to equality and social justice on the basis of reconceptualizing the way Australian society perceives and treats indigenous and non-Anglo immigrant people. Students may then choose to take elective intercultural subjects (some with a multicultural and others with an Aboriginal focus), which provide for the classroom application of the ideas and principles discussed in the core compulsory subjects.

The elective subjects with a multicultural component concentrate on field studies concerned with developing student competencies in teaching in remote Aboriginal communities, responding to difficult small school situations, handling controversial multicultural issues, and developing resources for cross-cultural studies.

A discussion with the lecturer responsible for one of the first year compulsory subjects at this university gave an interesting look at the essential aims and practices of the cultural pedagogy involved. The aim of the subject is to sensitize students to the teacher's role in meeting the needs of diversity with equity, paying attention to issues of 'race' and ethnicity, disability, gender and sexual preference. This lecturer, (with over five years' experience in developing and teaching the subject) felt that most students tended to be more tolerant of Greek, Italian and Chinese Australians, and of people with disabilities, than of Aboriginal Australians. Therefore, the subject now emphasizes attitude development in order to combat the racism underlying the fact that many students simply did not 'fit Aborigines into their tolerance frameworks'. The eleven week, thirty-three-hour subject takes students through several activities oriented to topics such as:

- 'seeing the world differently';
- appreciating Aboriginal educational aspirations;
- developing culturally sensitive ways of communicating with Aboriginal students and their parents;
- understanding the philosophy and aims of bicultural schooling;
- responding to the particular socio-educational problems of Aboriginal students in rural and urban settings;
- selecting and using appropriate linguistic policies in teaching Aboriginal children;
- understanding how Aboriginal teacher training is being developed;
- appreciating the achievements of Aboriginal leadership in Aboriginal education; and
- being aware of the goals of national Aboriginal education policy.

In this course, many students went through stages of development which could range from denial that a problem existed, to anger at what they saw as an Aboriginal 'refusal' to fit into 'reasonable' Anglo-Australian norms (a blame-the-victim approach), to shame at the record of racism against Aborigines, to an ability to evaluate their own position in this situation and move to a determination to work through their teaching to help to change things.

Comparison of the Two Approaches

It is the requirement of core (compulsory) intercultural studies which seems to constitute the major difference between the Type 1 programme discussed above and the Type 2 programme at this university. In the Type 1 programme, B.Ed. students have to do eight compulsory professional (contextual) subjects, of which none is an intercultural specialization. In contrast, in the Type 2 programme, three of the eight professional subjects in the B.Ed. are compulsory intercultural specializations. In both programmes, students continue their contextual studies in the fourth year with a choice of electives, which may or may not be intercultural. The point is that the students in the Type 2 programme have already completed intercultural studies as a core part of their degree, and whether or not they choose to continue such studies, they are more likely to be able to build on conceptual understandings about cultural diversity developed in previous work. Some of them choose to specialize in Aboriginal education by taking six related subjects, an option which is not possible in the Type 1 programme.

Shaping the Intercultural Curriculum of the Future

Until recently, Australia had no national or state requirement for the inclusion of multicultural content in teacher education programmes. This was entirely dependent on institutional or individual commitment. However, this situation is changing as the most recent state curriculum review (Wiltshire *et al.*, 1994) has recommended that, 'all preservice teacher education programmes include substantial, *core* studies on . . . knowledge and skills relating to teaching linguistically and culturally diverse student populations.'

Australia is also moving towards implementing a national core curriculum and educational goals at the school level. This pattern should be replicated at the teacher education level, and could be realized if institutions were given a strong lead, supported by resources, from the Federal Government. The Type 1 teacher education programme discussed above, however, is deficient in terms of adequate curricular responses to multicultural issues in general, and indigenous concerns in particular. This appears to be the norm in most teacher education faculties. It is our experience as teacher educators that many student teachers, after their first encounter with teaching-practice, return to campus expressing shock at the ethnic diversity of classrooms, and their lack of preparedness for dealing with this situation.

The Type 2 teacher education programme demonstrates that the system is capable of generating approaches more responsive to the multicultural context in which they are operating. The presence of key staff with commitment and the requisite knowledge and skills, seems to have contributed greatly to the development of this programme. Even this university, however, needs to move to the situation where no matter which degree programme the students are

enrolled in, *all* students experience adequate exposure to intercultural curricula in order that they develop the skills needed to cope with the diversity inherent in Australia's school-age populations.

Our 1992 survey of multicultural subjects in the Australian teacher education curriculum (Hickling-Hudson and McMeniman, op.cit.) suggests that there is a variety of good content and pedagogical approaches scattered across the nation's universities. Institutions would benefit by discussing with each other their timetabling approaches and curriculum innovations in the field, with a view to improving practice. Universities interested in analysing the adequacy of their programme of multicultural education might like to consider the following approaches. The content of the curriculum may be evaluated according to a typology of objectives and practice which include the provision of culturally relevant education for minority student needs; the encouragement of positive interactions between students in multiethnic classrooms; developing in *all* students mutual respect and tolerance of other cultures; and the development not only of multicultural but also socially reconstructionist skills, which teach all students to analyse critically why some groups are oppressed and take an active role in restructuring unequal relationships. Teaching processes and classroom organization may be examined for their cultural sensitivity and for the extent to which they are characterized by a top-down, transmission approach, or an approach which places students in the active role of analysing, evaluating, creating, and leading.

All tertiary institutions are required by the Federal Government to make provision for staff development. A point of departure for instigating curricular change would be to devote a section of the staff development programme to professional development in multicultural and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander issues. A useful workshop activity would be to review existing curricula with a view to infusing it with a multicultural perspective, and providing staff with the requisite knowledge and skills that many now feel that they lack — perhaps with the assistance of staff members who have been nationally recognized as having implemented successful multicultural programmes. At the same time, the awareness of administrative leaders could be heightened as to strategies for increasing the extent of cultural diversity with respect to staff and student recruitment.

Many universities have established Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander units funded by the Federal Government. Currently, there are thirty-four such units which support these students academically and socially throughout the course of their tertiary studies. Increasingly, the units are adding to their role wider university teaching and research (Bourke *et al.*, 1991). Several are headed at professorial level and are responsible for organizing degrees in this specialization. However, the units have encountered many problems in terms of lack of recognition within the academic setting, including insufficient funding.

Little research has been done on the proportion of, and support for, ethnic minority student teachers in Australia. The general point may be made that although in schools NESB students attract considerable funding from the Federal

Government for the development of proficiency in English as a second language, there is no similar funding at the tertiary level. Not only is there a low level of representation of NESB student teachers, but there is also little funding available to support their linguistic and cultural needs.

Traditionally the study of languages other than English (LOTE) has not featured strongly in the Australian curriculum. Developed in the late 1980s, Australia's National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987) regards the language pluralism of Australia as, 'a valuable economic resource in its potential for use in international trade'. As a result, large sums of money are currently being allocated to LOTE in schools and to community language initiatives. Teacher education programmes have not yet reflected to any significant extent this change of policy relating to language education. Very few student teachers study a language other than English, so there is likely to be a shortfall in the number of suitably qualified teachers to implement the expansion of LOTE. All of these factors need to be addressed if teacher education programmes are to move beyond a token approach to multicultural education.

A culturally diverse group of Australia's leading thinkers recently expressed the view that:

> Too many Australians feel alienated and have no sense of being part of the society . . . The society should be a compassionate one with special concern for the vulnerable and disadvantaged. In particular, justice for Aboriginal people is paramount if we are to establish ourselves as a just and mature society. (Campbell, McMeniman and Baikaloff, 1992)

It was felt that Australia's maturity as a nation also depends on looking outward beyond its own shores. Without compromising its present ties throughout the globe, Australia should become more integrated psychologically, culturally, socially, and economically into the south-east Asian and south-Pacific regions. This vision goes beyond a multicultural Australia to embrace an internationally oriented society. Australians are presented with the complex challenge of maintaining historical and cultural ties with Europe and North America, as well as entering into close relationships with countries in the region as it redefines its identity in a climate of land rights for its indigenous peoples and pro-republicanism.

In our view, student teachers need to have at least four major areas of knowledge to develop their skills in implementing a culturally appropriate, anti-racist curriculum (see Rizvi, 1990; Sarup, 1991), which also includes attention to questions of gender. They need to know the philosophy and principles of an anti-racist and anti-sexist curriculum; a variety of approaches to intercultural curriculum design; the principles of culturally inclusive communications and pedagogy; and how to seek professional development in the cultural aspect of work in their subject disciplines. This preparation may enable teachers to contribute more substantially to a mature Australian society, capable of celebrating and capitalizing on the richness of its cultural diversity.

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Chapter 3

Teacher Education for a Multicultural Britain

Sally Tomlinson

This chapter gives an account of the thirty-year development of measures to prepare teachers for the plural society of Great Britain, and their marginalization in the context of recent policy and legislation.

The training of teachers to teach effectively in a multiethnic society was a partial success story until the late 1980s in Great Britain. Since the passing of the 1988 *Education Reform Act*, ideological and policy opposition to the preparation of all teachers for their role in an ethnically plural society has intensified. Teacher educators, required to concentrate on preparing students to teach and assess an ever-changing National Curriculum in the schools, on creating training partnerships with schools, and on responding to the demands of the new Teacher Training Agency, have been left with little time, encouragement or funding to develop multicultural, non-racist and globally-oriented curriculum approaches in teacher education.[1] Courses developed to help intending and serving teachers towards an understanding of British society and Britain's role in the modern world, to help them teach all young people mutual respect and cease to regard racially and culturally different citizens of their own and other countries as inferior and aliens, have, in the mid-1990s, all but disappeared. The view expressed in *The Times Educational Supplement* in 1990 that, 'There is a definite intention to starve multicultural education of resources and allow it to wither on the vine,' (*Times Educational Supplement*, 1990), was an accurate portrayal of political intentions towards teacher education for a plural society in the 1990s. This chapter documents the way in which a slow thirty-year advance in the professional training of teachers, in which issues and problems relating to teaching in a multiethnic society were beginning to be incorporated into initial, in-service and postgraduate teacher education, has been abruptly thrown into reverse.

In 1988 it was possible to hold the view that,

> Teacher-trainers and Local Education Authorities (LEAs) are beginning to recognise their key role in educating the teachers who will prepare all pupils for life in a multi-ethnic society and an interdependent world more appropriately, . . . it is no longer possible for all concerned with teacher education to evade their role in training for multiculturalism. (Tomlinson, 1988, p. 135)

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Eight years later, evasion is not only possible but positively encouraged by some politicians and their advisers who have influence on teacher education. However, there are still grounds for guarded optimism. Schools, teachers and teacher-trainers in multiracial areas have, by and large, responded well to the need to prepare for teaching in multiracial schools, and several generations of white majority and ethnic minority young people have gone through these schools and experienced the reality of growing up in a multiethnic society. Cultural ignorance and ethnocentric attitudes have diminished in some areas. Teachers, particularly experienced teachers, do consider issues concerning race, and ethnicity to be of crucial importance (National Union of Teachers, 1995), and it is unlikely that the current reversals in policy and practice will continue as the economic, social and political consequences of nationalistic monoculturalism become more apparent.

Teacher Education 1960–80

For twenty years, the most pressing problems in teacher training for a multiracial society were perceived to be those associated with the incorporation of immigrant children into 'English culture', teaching English as a second language, and teaching effectively in multiracial classrooms. A House of Commons Home Affairs Committee Report noted in 1981 that:

> the issues have been kicked around by interested parties for so many years that it is no longer acceptable to wait for the complex administrative structure to come to terms with the challenge presented by the multiracial classroom. (Home Affairs Committee, 1981, p. 1, xi)

However, an historical account of events over the period 1960–80 indicates that those 'kicking around' the issues were in fact gradually developing sound policies and practice. A short discussion of teacher training did appear in an extensive report on race relations in Britain published in 1969 (Rose *et al.*, 1969), aimed at those intending to teach in 'immigrant' areas, but the possibility of a more realistic appraisal of education for *all* teachers teaching in British society had to wait until the 1980s.

The major problem, as perceived by all educationists in the 1960s, was that of teaching English as a second language (ESL), to help immigrants 'assimilate' into society. Her Majesty's Inspectors published *English for Immigrants* in 1963, which contained an excellent statement on the necessity for teaching ESL, (Ministry of Education, 1963). Unfortunately, at this time there were very few teachers of ESL in Britain and no in-service courses, and those who trained to teach English as a foreign or second language usually found work abroad. A few Local Education Authorities began to employ minority teachers to teach immigrant children; but by and large, the opportunity to use the skills of ethnic minority teachers trained overseas was not taken up in the 1960s. Birmingham

LEA set up a special language department in 1960, and an Association for Teaching English to Pupils of Overseas Origin (ATEPO) was established in the Midlands in 1962. Pressure from this Association and the National Council for Commonwealth Immigrants resulted in the setting up of a one-term, in-service ESL course at the London University Institute of Education in 1965. Edge Hill College of Education at Ormskirk, (a constituent college of University of Lancaster School of Education), was the next teacher training establishment to set up ESL courses, and by 1968 it was offering the first course in the 'Education of Immigrants' in the Teachers' Certificate and BEd courses. Other colleges followed suit, and a few LEAs, notably the Inner London Education Authority, began to run in-service courses. However, preparation of teachers going into multicultural classrooms was minimal. Rose noted that, 'in 1967 it was not impossible for a probationary teacher to find herself, without warning or preparation, placed in charge of a reception class of forty children of "immigrants", a situation which persisted for many years after 1967', (Rose *et al.*, 1969). A Schools Council survey published in 1970 confirmed the lack of preparation by colleges, of students who did intend to work with minority group children, (Schools Council, 1970).

Such training as there was during the 1960s was very much oriented to the 'particular needs' of immigrants and disadvantaged pupils, along the lines of the compensatory education models then popular in Britain and the United States. There was a strong assumption, underpinned by assimilationist ideologies, that only teachers of immigrant or minority children would need preparation for teaching in a multicultural society. An exception to this way of thinking was the House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, which recommended in 1969 that *all* teachers be equipped to prepare children for life in a multicultural society, (Select Committee, 1969). However this plea went unheeded, and those teacher training institutions that did develop option courses at the BEd or PGCE level intended these only for students who would teach in inner-city multicultural classrooms.

The 1970s was a period of exhortation and recommendations for the inclusion of multicultural elements in both initial and in-service teacher-training, rather than of action. Maurice Craft wrote in 1981 that, 'it is profoundly depressing to find the same kinds of recommendation for action appearing again and again', (Craft, 1981). From 1971, the Department of Education and Science (DES) had committed its inspectorate to offering 'practical help and advice to teachers faced with the challenge of teaching immigrant children', but there was no central directive or finance forthcoming, (Department of Education and Science, 1971). The Home Office, through Section 11 of the *Local Government Act*, 1966, had become committed to paying for extra teachers in areas of 'high Commonwealth immigration concentration', but there had never been any coordination with the DES to offer special training to these teachers, or indeed to see that they actually were employed to teach 'immigrant' children.

Teachers themselves throughout the 1970s felt the lack of professional preparation for multiculturalism, and while central government and teacher-trainers

prevaricated, some teachers directed attention to the need for curriculum reform. A grass-roots movement aimed at the elimination of Eurocentric stereotypes and a negative presentation of other races and cultures in the curriculum, was the result of teacher initiatives, (see McNeal and Rogers, 1971). However, without a general acceptance and clarification of the aims of multicultural education many teachers in multiracial schools found themselves frustrated, and teachers in 'all-white' schools did not consider the issues relevant to them. Townsend and Brittan carried out a survey into organization and curriculum in multiracial schools in 1972, and concluded that lack of adequate teacher training was a major problem in the staffing of the schools, (Townsend and Brittan, 1972). Teachers lacked knowledge of the background of the minority children they were teaching, and lacked teaching techniques appropriate for multiracial and multilingual classrooms. Townsend and Brittan also raised the issue as to whether teacher training courses should reflect the fact that 'all teachers will teach in a multiracial Britain', an issue which is still being debated at the present time.

The committees and researchers who recommended improved teacher training for multiculturalism during the 1970s found difficulty in specifying just how this should be done. The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, in their 1973 report on *Education* (Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1973), suggested that sociology of education courses were probably the best vehicle for teaching student teachers about multiculturalism. However, sociologists employed as teacher trainers never really gave the multiethnic nature of British society and racial inequality the attention which they devoted to class inequalities, and an opportunity to help students locate racial and cultural issues within wider issues of social justice was lost. The DES replied to the Select Committee in 1974 that consultation on initial and in-service training for multiculturalism had been initiated, but by 1977 was forced to conclude that, 'too many entrants to the teaching profession have inadequate experience and understanding of the world outside education, including its multicultural and multiracial aspects' (DES, 1977).

An HMI (Her Majesty's Inspectorate) inquiry into BEd courses in fifteen institutions, published in 1979, reported that courses relating to education for a multiracial society were 'superficial or non-existent', and the catalogue of findings criticizing minimal teacher preparation in this area reached a peak in the late 1970s. A further HMI survey of forty-six public sector institutions in 1979/80 found that twenty-one of them considered that the issues of a multicultural society were not relevant, and a further twelve were uncertain, (Ambrose, 1981). Eggleston and his colleagues at Keele University carried out a survey of in-service education for a multicultural society in 1979/80, on the premise that as new entrants to the profession had diminished considerably, the existing teaching force had an inescapable responsibility to inform itself of the issues. However, this survey concluded that, 'our investigation left us in no doubt about the fragmentary and incomplete provision of in-service education for a multi-cultural society. Indeed, it is non-existent in many areas and in none is it wholly adequate', (Eggleston, 1981).

By the end of the 1970s, more teachers were becoming aware of the need for in-service training in multicultural issues. The Commission for Racial Equality reported the views of a sample of teachers they interviewed who felt that they were inadequately trained for their work in multiracial schools, and considered that they received insufficient support and guidance from the LEA, (Commission for Racial Equality, 1978); however, there was still no clear understanding as to what kind of training for multiculturalism was available. An attempt to provide a comprehensive picture of all initial teacher training courses which included race, ethnic, and cultural issues was made in 1979 by Cherrington and Giles, who surveyed all college, polytechnic, and university teacher training departments, (Cherrington and Giles, 1981). They reported that in colleges, only fourteen out of sixty-four were offering courses in multicultural education, but a further forty-six courses were offered in the colleges which were described as containing elements of multiculturalism. Eighteen courses were offered in nine polytechnics, and four courses at four universities, although a further nine offered multicultural elements in some courses. Cherrington and Giles also reported that the courses tended to present multicultural education as a way of dealing with a problem, rather than as an educational concept valid for *all* children in a multicultural society.

Teacher Education 1980–7

Given this catalogue of complaint and inadequacy, it may well be asked what teacher trainers thought they were doing in training for multiculturalism up to the 1980s? Why did they not respond to pleas for such training, or consider the issues important enough to warrant the development of more courses? One answer to these questions may be that teacher trainers during the 1970s were too busy responding to continuous change in institutional structures, pedagogy, curriculum, modes of assessment, decline in teacher training enrolments, and new national policies, to devote much time to multicultural issues. Other answers may be that teacher trainers themselves had little experience of basic issues in race relations, immigration, and cultural diversity in Britain, and had little idea about the kinds of new knowledge, skills, and techniques which would be required by teachers for teaching in a multicultural society. During the 1970s, the Association for Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education had produced, in conjunction with the Commission for Racial Equality, only one Report on teacher education for a multicultural society. This was a brief but comprehensive statement outlining the ways in which 'preparation for a multiracial society can be incorporated into the experience of all students', but it made little impact upon teacher trainers generally (Commission for Racial Equality, 1978). The Report did, however, stress the importance of in-service training as a priority.

In 1981, the Commission for Racial Equality's Advisory Group for Teacher Education, chaired by Professor Maurice Craft, organized a seminar on *Teaching*

in a Multicultural Society: The Task for Teacher Education at Nottingham University, the proceedings being subsequently published, (Craft, 1981). The participants were teachers, teacher trainers, LEA advisers, HMI, and academic researchers; and a major theme of the Conference was the need to prepare *all* children for life in a multicultural society and the need for compulsory multicultural elements in *all* initial teacher training, in addition to specialist options and in-service work. Conference members were influenced by developments overseas, particularly in the United States, where teacher educators had become more sensitive to their responsibilities in this area. Multicultural requirements had been laid out in teacher education accreditation programmes in the United States in 1976, and in 1980 the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education had produced a series of documents for implementing multicultural teacher education, (Gay, 1983). Information on teacher education in other culturally plural education systems had also begun to filter through to some British teacher educators, in particular from Australia and Canada, (Bullivant, 1981; Banks and Lynch, 1986).

Further influences on teacher educators in 1981 were provided by three major reports on multicultural education which were produced in that year. The Home Affairs Committee published its Report on *Racial Disadvantage* which, as already noted, heavily criticised the failure of teacher educators to respond to issues of race and cultural diversity. The Rampton-Swann Committee of Inquiry into the education of ethnic minority pupils, set up by the Government in 1979, published an Interim Report which referred to an 'overwhelming picture of the failure of teacher training institutions to prepare teachers for their role in a multiracial society', and blamed the absence of guidance from the DES for the situation, (Department of Education and Science, 1981). This Committee made thirteen recommendations for improvement in teacher training and the advisory services, the first being that 'the governing bodies and maintaining Authorities of all teacher training institutions in the public sector, and University Departments of Education should institute a fundamental reappraisal of their policy towards multicultural education'. A third report came from a survey set up by the Schools Council to review national and local policies in multicultural education. Thirteen of the sixty recommendations of this Report, *Multiethnic Education — The Way Forward*, recommended action to be undertaken by teacher educators and professional associations, (Little and Willey, 1981).

These reports, surveys and exhortations to action were, by the 1980s, influencing LEAs, who following the initiatives of the Inner London Education Authority in the later 1970s, began to produce policy statements and guidelines on multicultural education, which usually included recommendations for in-service training. LEAs in multiracial areas were certainly galvanised into action following the 1981 racial disturbances which occurred in most major British cities, and teacher training institutions were undoubtedly influenced by the view of Lord Scarman, investigating the Brixton disturbances, that 'there is a clear need for improved training of teachers in the particular needs, the cultural background, and the expectations of minority group children and parents', (Scarman, 1981). Teacher education institutions were subject in the early 1980s

to a variety of external pressures, some subtle and some more direct, to translate the exhortations of the 1970s into action. Pressures were exerted by teacher unions and associations, the Council for National Academic Awards (the then national accrediting body for non-University higher education), the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education set up in 1984 by the DES, and Lord Swann's Committee of Inquiry into the education of ethnic minority pupils.

The National Union of Teachers had adopted low-key but consistent policies on issues of race and multiculturalism from 1967, when it published a Report, *The NUT View of Immigrants*, (National Union of Teachers, 1969). This Report contained the novel suggestion that day colleges be opened in areas of high minority settlement to offer training and research facilities to both native-born and immigrant teachers, a suggestion which was never taken up. The NUT concentrated on suggestions for combating racism and for curriculum change, and at its 1980 Conference passed a motion expressing concern at the propagation of racialist ideas in Britain and calling for a multicultural curriculum and more relevant induction and in-service training for all teachers in multicultural issues. The Avon branch of the NUT, after 'race riots' had occurred in Bristol in April 1980, produced a Report accepting the heavy burden of responsibility placed on teachers in a multiethnic society, and called on their LEA and teacher training institutions to improve teacher training for multicultural education. One secondary school teacher interviewed for this Report noted that 'at my school we had ONE in-service training day on this theme, and no follow-up that I am aware of, an empty gesture' (Avon NUT, 1980).

A more direct plea to teacher trainers was made in 1984 by the National Association for Multiracial Education (NAME), a liberal teachers' association created in 1974, which during the 1980s became more militant in its stance on racism in Britain. In a short but powerful statement, NAME urged all bodies involved in teacher education to adopt an 'anti-racist' approach in their professional activities, asserting that 'multicultural education' could become tokenist and did not tackle issues of unjust, racist structures and processes in education, (National Association for Multiracial Education, 1984). The statement proposed wide-ranging changes in the management and staffing of teacher training institutions, in the recruitment and assessment of students, the provision of courses at initial and in-service level, the evaluation of courses, and the levels of resource offered.

More direct pressure on teacher training institutions in the public sector was exerted by the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA), which through its validating activities began to require all institutions presenting or representing courses for validation, to demonstrate that some degree of 'permeation' of multicultural elements had taken place, in addition to specialist option courses, (CNAA, 1984). Although the initial reaction of some institutions to this requirement was to pay lip-service to 'permeation', many teacher trainers who had previously rejected multicultural ideas were forced to give them some consideration. One college validated by CNAA and described by Arora, produced a comprehensive academic policy with a declared commitment to

multicultural education and a responsiveness to the needs of the local (Bradford) multiethnic community, (Arora, 1986).

In addition, the CNAA set up a Working Group to examine ways of promoting good practice in teaching for multiculturalism in January 1982, and in 1984 the Group produced a discussion document suggesting principles of multicultural and anti-racist education, and a checklist of possible items for inclusion in teacher education courses. This document had wide circulation in colleges and polytechnics, and caused the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET), which represents all university teacher training departments, to set up its own Working Party to produce a similar discussion document. The CNAA's four-page document was included in the Swann Report on the education of ethnic minority pupils, (Department of Education and Science, 1985(a)). However, in 1986 the CNAA's Committee for Teacher Education reviewed the document and, without the knowledge of the Working Group, deleted the term 'anti-racist'. Several members of the Working Group protested and one resigned from the Committee for Teacher Education. This incident demonstrates that by 1986, those opposed to the notion that training for multiculturalism should include helping teachers to understand the reasons for racism and the need to be able to deal with such behaviour, were now able to exert pressure on educators and openly oppose multicultural and anti-racist training.

The Council for the Accreditation for Teacher Education (CATE), the body set up in 1984 under the chairmanship of Professor William Taylor to advise the Secretary of State on the approval of all teacher training courses in England and Wales, was similarly ambivalent. Criteria for such approval were, according to the DES Circular announcing the Council, to include the requirement that:

> . . . students be prepared through their subject method work and educational studies to teach the full range of pupils whom they are likely to encounter in an ordinary school, with their diversity of ability, behaviour, social background and ethnic and cultural origins. They will need to learn how to respond flexibly to such diversity and guard against preconceptions based on the race or sex of pupils. (CATE, 1985)

However, the guidance notes issued by the new Council between 1984 and 1986 as to how it intended to carry out its remit did not deal with multicultural issues or requirements.

The creation of new secondary school examinations during the 1980s did constitute external pressures on institutions, as the examination boards preparing guidance on the new General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) syllabuses decided to include a requirement that multicultural criteria were met in both subject matter and examinations. For example, the criteria for the acceptance of a subject for an examination includes as one element:

> Recognition of cultural diversity: in devising syllabuses and setting question papers, examining groups should bear in mind the linguistic and cultural diversity of society. The value to all candidates of incorporating material which reflects this diversity should be stressed. (Department for Education and Science, 1985b)

However, the biggest single external pressure on teacher trainers and LEAs planning in-service courses up to the mid-1980s was undoubtedly the final report of Lord Swann's Committee of Inquiry into the education of ethnic minority pupils (DES, 1985a). This Report included a whole chapter on teacher education, with sections on initial training, in-service training, and the employment of ethnic minority teachers. The previous chapter on 'Religion' also included a section on the supply and training of religious education teachers. The *Swann Report* illustrated what some thought was an official acceptance that Britain is a culturally plural, multiethnic society, and that all teachers should be prepared to teach in this kind of society; and it seemed to be supported by a whole range of liberal initiatives undertaken by central and local government, and by schools.

By 1986 a series of central government initiatives appeared to place teacher preparation for a multiethnic society firmly on the educational agenda. Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education until 1986, had accepted the recommendations of the *Swann Report* that training for all teachers, including those in 'all-white' areas, was important. His 1985 document, *Better Schools* (DES, 1985c), made an explicit link between teacher professionalism and the changed attitudes required if teachers were to prepare all young people for life in a multiethnic society. A Grant-Related In-Service Training programme (GRIST) funded by central government, made 'teaching and the curriculum in a multiethnic society' a national in-service priority in 1986, and in the same year HMI organized a conference in Buxton, Derbyshire, to persuade 'white' LEAs that reflecting the ethnic diversity in British society was relevant to their areas. Chris Patten, then a junior Education Minister, later Governor of Hong Kong, addressed the conference, and noted that few people disputed the *Swann Report*'s conclusions that children in all parts of the country should be prepared for life in an ethnically diverse Britain, (Tomlinson, 1990). He pointed to the requirements of CATE, the in-service courses, GCSE requirements that examination boards have regard for cultural and linguistic diversity, HMI and local advice to teachers, and the Education Support Grant projects funded from 1985 for multicultural curriculum development and other projects. Indeed, between 1985 and 1988, 120 of these projects were funded around the country by central government to, 'meet the educational needs of people from ethnic minorities, to promote interracial harmony, and in other ways to prepare pupils and students for life in a multiethnic society' (see Tomlinson, 1990). It seemed as though teacher preparation for a multiethnic society had been accepted as a basic principle, despite some opposition to overt anti-racist education, and was slowly finding a place in policy and in teacher training institutions. Even revised criteria for CATE,

published by the Department of Education in 1989, still included the injunction that:

> courses should prepare students for teaching the full range of pupils and the diversity of ability, behaviour, social background and ethnic and cultural origin they are likely to encounter among pupils in ordinary schools; [and that] students should learn to guard against preconceptions based on the race, gender and religion or other attributes of pupils and understand the need to promote equal opportunities. (DES, 1989)

Post-1988 Policy Reversals

However, in the months leading up to the passing of the 1988 *Education Reform Act*, particularly as the Act progressed through Parliament, it began to be apparent that optimism was misplaced. The 1988 *Act* was intended to create a market in education, whereby parental choice of school and new forms of funding would reward good schools and penalize poor schools. The *Act* introduced a National Curriculum, which would:

- promote the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of schools and of society; and
- prepare pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.
  (*Education Act* 1988, Section 1.2)

But nowhere in the *Act* was multicultural education or education appropriate for a multiethnic non-racist society mentioned. Concern was expressed in Parliament about this, and Lord Pitt, a black Peer, proposed that an amendment to the *Act* should read, 'prepare pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life *in a multicultural, multiracial society*' (see Tomlinson, 1990). The amendment was defeated, as was an effort to incorporate a sentence from Keith Joseph's 1985 paper, *Better Schools* (DES, 1985c), that pupils be educated to acquire positive attitudes to all ethnic groups. The Commission for Racial Equality and others were concerned that parental choice of school might conflict with requirements of the 1976 *Race Relations Act*, as they were already investigating a case in Cleveland where a parent wished to 'choose' a school for her child without minority children, (Commission for Racial Equality, 1989). Ministers denied that parents would 'choose' schools on racial or ethnic grounds, but have since been proved wrong. There was also anxiety that the *Act* required a daily 'collective act of worship' in schools which together with school religious education should be 'of a mainly Christian character'. This appeared to reinforce the idea that other religions were less important. The *Act* also abolished the Inner London Education Authority, incorporating over 50 per cent of the ethnic minority pupils in the country, which had been at the forefront in

developing multicultural anti-racist education, and encouraging appropriate initial and in-service teacher education. Subject groups appointed by the Secretary of State for Education to produce the content and targets of a National Curriculum were initially instructed by him to take note of a number of cross-curricular themes, which included multicultural education, and a special Working Group was invited to prepare a report to help teachers incorporate multicultural and global perspectives into their teaching, (Baker, 1988). This Group produced a Report which was never made public or incorporated into National Curriculum planning, (see Tomlinson, 1993). The first Chief Executive of a National Curriculum Council admitted in his account of the development of the National Curriculum, that by 1990, 'It was being made starkly clear to NCC by Ministers that whatever influence it might have would be rapidly dissipated by entering what was widely seen as a no-go area (multicultural education).' (Graham, 1993).

The reversal of multicultural policies post-1988 was based on the ideological opposition of powerful right wing politicians and their advisers, including the Prime Minister herself, to any training of teachers or preparation of pupils for a multiethnic society. Up to 1988, opponents had vilified the multicultural, anti-racist education of pupils, rather than teacher education, as neo-Marxist or 'looney-left' activity, (Palmer, 1986; Lewis, 1988; Honeyford, 1988), and as an unpatriotic activity likely to damage or destroy the British cultural heritage, (Cox, 1986; Scruton, 1986). Since belief in the abolition of socialism and associated left wing activities, and a desire that Britain be returned to a former imperial world role, were central to Prime Minister Thatcher's philosophy of government, (see Thatcher, 1993, Chapters 4 and 7), it was unsurprising that those advocating multiculturalism and a changed understanding of Britain's role in the world were branded as 'left wing' and unpatriotic.

From 1988, political attention turned towards an extensive reform of teacher education. The ultimate aim was to move teacher training into schools and if possible, sever links with University Departments of Education and Teacher Training Colleges, (see *Education Act*, 1994). A major reason for the reform was the belief that intending teachers were being indoctrinated by 'progressive' educationalists, who were inculcating 'modish educational theory' (Lawlor, 1990) into their students at the expense of subject knowledge and classroom management, (see also O'Hear, 1988; O'Keefe, 1990). In her memoirs, Lady Thatcher indicated her own belief in the malign influence of progressive educationalists — among which she included HMI — firmly linking lowered educational standards to left wing LEAs, especially the Inner London Education Authority. She wrote that in 1988, she 'alerted' Kenneth Baker, then her Secretary of State for Education, by a personal minute, expressing her concern about teacher training. Despite Government control of courses via CATE, she believed that there was 'too little emphasis on factual knowledge, too little practical experience and too much stress on sociological and psychological factors' in teacher training, (Thatcher, 1993). She was particularly scathing about the inclusion of multicultural and anti-racist perspectives in courses, and also study of gender

stereotyping. She could 'scarcely believe the contents of one of the BEd courses, duly approved by CATE, at Brighton Polytechnic' which required students to study these issues (ibid., p. 598), although she was already disappointed that Baker 'paid too much attention to the DES, HMI and progressive educational theorists' (p. 597); and she urged him to break the monopoly of existing teacher training routes by training at least half the teaching force by 'licensed' or 'articled' teacher routes and by training in schools.[3]

These views were reinforced by Sheila Lawlor, Deputy Director of the Centre for Policy Studies, a right wing organization set up by Mrs Thatcher and Keith Joseph in 1974. Lawlor produced a short but virulent attack on teacher training, which called for the abolition of University Departments of Education and complete on-the-job training for intending teachers, (Lawlor, 1990). In a forty-eight-page pamphlet, *Teachers Mistaught*, she attacked existing full-time Postgraduate Certificate of Education courses (PGCE) and BEd courses — still the major routes into teaching in 1990. The attack was based on a review of the course handbooks of just five PGCE courses and two BEd courses. These were courses at the well-regarded University Departments of Education at Durham, Bristol, Birmingham, Cambridge and the London University Institute of Education, and two BEd courses at Warwick University and Nene College of Higher Education. Her criticism centred around a supposed lack of subject teaching, and the spurious nature of professional studies which 'enjoy the same weighting as subject studies and indeed tend to inform them', (Lawlor, 1990). These courses, she notes, stress the link between theory and practice, and the emphasis of much of the theory points out the sociological, cultural and psychological reasons for learning difficulties. She castigates Birmingham for a course asking students to 'pay special attention to the teaching of English in a multicultural society and to consider the problems of language across the curriculum'; Durham's courses which include aspects of multicultural education, as 'a series of random topics chosen . . . because of their fascination for educationalists'; and Warwick for giving 'questionable emphasis to special needs, multicultural education and gender . . . the subject courses themselves are infected by current fashion' (op.cit.).

Although the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers issued a press statement deploring ill-informed attacks on teacher training such as the Lawlor pamphlet (UCET, 1990), subsequent legislation and policies to reform teacher education were based on the view that training should, as far as possible, by-pass University and College lecturers who were 'infecting' teacher training with unnecessary ideas, which included ideas about the need to prepare teachers for teaching in a multiethnic society. Teacher trainers were, by 1990, caught up in an ideological battle for control of teacher preparation between a liberal Conservative wing, which ironically included most of the former Conservative Secretaries of State for Education, who still believed that student teachers should reflect on the nature of the society in which they would teach — and a right wing, who regard teaching as a purely technicist matter of transmitting an unproblematic body of knowledge.

Teacher Education to 1995

In 1992, the Secretary of State for Education announced that accreditation for teacher training should depend on the 'competences' acquired by student teachers, and that secondary student teachers should spend 80 per cent of their time in schools. Objections by educators led to a modification of this specified time, although as Mahony and Whitty have pointed out, 'It now appears that the Government's retreat was a largely tactical one in preparation for the more wide-ranging reform, more in line with the ideas of Sheila Lawlor and other fanatics of the New Right, subsequently contained in the 1993 *Education Bill*,' (Mahony and Whitty, 1994). New criteria for the training of secondary school teachers were introduced via DES Circular 9/92, and for primary school teachers via Circular 14/93. The focus of reform was on 'tough new criteria' for subject knowledge and classroom skills, (Department for Education, 1993), and greater involvement with schools which would include payment to schools by university departments and colleges. The circulars avoid any mention of multicultural training, the competences for newly qualified teachers referring mainly to subject knowledge, application and recording, and class management. Circular 9/92 does require 'an understanding of the school as an institution and its place within the community', and an awareness of individual differences including social, psychological, developmental and cultural dimensions' (DES, 1992, Annexe A).

A *Further and Higher Education Act* in 1992 removed the 'binary line' between universities and polytechnics, former polytechnics becoming universities, and the CNAA, noted previously as a body which had been instrumental in attempting to infuse teacher training with multicultural elements, was wound up. A second *Act* passed in 1992 incorporated new arrangements for the inspection of schools; the old HMI, which had according to Mrs Thatcher become 'tainted' with progressive educational notions, was scaled down and incorporated into a new Office for Standards in Education. This move was regretted by the outgoing Chief Inspector as the removal of an authoritative voice which could 'stop foolishness in its tracks', and give 'some succour to good practice' (Bolton, 1994). HMI had been active for thirty years in developing policies for multicultural education and appropriate teacher education. The Ofsted handbook, *Framework for Inspection of Schools* (Ofsted, 1994) does not require new inspectors to judge schools or teachers on any aspect of multicultural or non-racist attributes, other than a brief reference to noting whether schools help pupils' cultural understanding.

It is also worth noting that sociology of education courses, suggested in 1973 by the Parliamentary Select Committee as suitable vehicles for teaching multicultural issues, had disappeared from teacher training courses by the 1990s, partly due to the pressure of new requirements on courses, and partly as a result of the 'demonization' of the courses by the right wing ideologists.

The 1994 *Education Act* finally divorced initial teacher education and some continuing professional development of teachers, from universities. The funding

of teacher education now no longer rests with the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFC) but with a Teacher Training Agency, directly under control of the Secretary of State for Education, who appoints its Council and Executive. The Council, set up in 1994, includes Anthony O'Hear, an opponent of progressive education, child-centred theory, and training for multiculturalism (O'Hear, 1988). The Agency controls the accreditation and funding of initial teacher education and can dictate the content of courses. In 1995 there are indications that the influence of the Agency will extend to in-service or professional development course funding and content, which will include some masters-level courses. There are no indications that the Agency regards teacher preparation for a multiethnic society as a priority, or even as a necessary part of teacher preparation.

Ethnic Minority Teachers

The employment of ethnic minority teachers has followed a pattern consistent with other policies pursued from the 1960s to the 1990s. Ideally, a multiethnic society should employ a substantial number of teachers of ethnic minority origin, who should have similar opportunities for promotion and a career structure as for all other teachers. However, during the 1960s the DES mostly required that teachers trained overseas undertake further training in Britain. LEAs were equivocal in their willingness to employ 'immigrant' teachers, and ethnic minority teachers/potential teachers had a clear message as to their possible second-class status in the profession. In 1973, the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration had noted that, 'like the DES, we do not know the numbers of immigrant teachers and we agree with our witnesses that there should be more' (Select Committee, 1973). 'Section 11' grants, given under the 1966 *Local Government Act* by the Home Office to employ extra teachers in areas of 'high Commonwealth' settlement were used from the outset to employ ethnic minority teachers, especially bilingual teachers; and special access courses, offered from 1979 in some colleges and universities, were successful in recruiting more teachers, mainly of Afro-Caribbean origin.

The Swann Report (DES, 1985a) had recommended that more minority teachers be employed, and the DES had issued a paper on ways to increase the supply of such teachers, (DES, 1985d). However, relatively small numbers of minority people were attracted into teaching; and a survey by the Commission for Racial Equality in the mid-1980s estimated that less than 2 per cent of the teaching force were of minority origin, (Commission for Racial Equality, 1986), and that both in teacher training and in teaching, minorities were likely to encounter problems. The CRE survey reported that minority teachers were likely to be on lower scales and concentrated in particular subject areas, with less chance of promotion. Ghuman (1995) has recorded the difficulties teachers of Asian origin have had over the years, in attempting to have their overseas qualifications recognized and in obtaining promotion once in teaching posts;

and Blair and Maylor (1994) have described the experiences of black women trainees, and a tendency to treat black teachers as 'professional ethnics' — experts in their own culture — rather than as professionals on the same level as all other teachers. The introduction of the 'licensed teacher' route into teaching in 1989, by which intending teachers with higher education qualifications could train in schools, did benefit ethnic minority teachers with overseas qualifications, who finally had their degrees and certificates recognized.[3] Some 46 per cent of the first qualified licensed teachers were of ethnic minority origin, although only small numbers of intending teachers choose this route into teaching.

'Section 11' grants, which had been used in many LEAs to employ ethnic minority teachers and classroom helpers, were progressively cut over the years, and in 1994 LEAs had to bid for such grants under a single Regeneration Budget offered to inner city areas, (Rogers, 1994). The results of these bids effectively cut 'Section 11' budgets by 50 per cent, a number of ethnic minority teachers lost their jobs, and help for bilingual children has been seriously affected in some areas, (Passmore, 1994). There is still no accurate information on the numbers of ethnic minority teachers in training, employed or unemployed, and the neutral, if not negative, policies affecting minority teachers have not encouraged qualified students to wish to enter the profession.

Conclusion

This chapter has documented some of the issues, policies and ideologies concerning teacher education for a multiethnic society in Great Britain. It is not an edifying story. The response of central government and of teacher training institutions was, up to the 1980s, hesitant and guarded. When progress finally began to be made during the 1980s, right wing Conservative ideologists, including the Prime Minister herself, made the development of teacher training policies appropriate for a multicultural, non-racist society very difficult. Underlying many of the reforms in teacher training from 1989–95 has been the view that teacher trainers in universities and colleges have been at best misguided, at worst subversive, in developing courses which prepared their students for the multicultural reality of schools and British society, and in debating Britain's changed role in the world. However, government intentions to place teacher training primarily in schools may not have the desired results. A recent pilot project, (National Union of Teachers, 1995), which asked teachers for their views on the curriculum indicated that they do consider issues of race, ethnicity and gender to be of utmost importance to schools. Despite the research being carried out in a sample of schools across the country, a consensual view emerged that schools should:

- incorporate deliberate policies and practices to eradicate race and gender discrimination;

- raise awareness of the issues involved; and
- promote positive action.

Teachers considered that race and gender issues could best be dealt with by 'whole-school' policies, government policies, curriculum planning, open discussion between staff and students and parents, a good school ethos and sensitive teaching, raised awareness of issues, a presentation of good role models for women and minorities, and proper representation of women and minorities on committees and decisionmaking bodies (op.cit.).

All this would seem to indicate that the thirty years of slowly working towards proper preparation of teachers for a multiethnic society have had some effect, and attempted reversals have not yet made an impact.

Notes

1 A Teacher Training Agency, with a Council appointed by the Secretary of State for Education, was set up in January 1995, to accredit and fund teacher training in University Departments of Education, and in Colleges of Higher Education.
2 School-based 'articled' and 'licensed' teacher schemes had been set up in cooperation with LEAs from 1989, and in 1993 a School-centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) Scheme was piloted, with funding going directly to schools, and no involvement with Universities.

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Chapter 4

Multicultural Teacher Education in Canada

Ratna Ghosh

In this review of developments in Canada Professor Ghosh outlines relevant theoretical concerns, and reports a recent national survey of teacher education policies and a programme now underway at McGill University.

The last few decades have seen dramatic changes in the concept of education's role in society, as well as in the types of students in the educational system. Yet, the teacher education curriculum in Canada has not responded to the needs of a changing demography. The curriculum initiatives in the school system are important, but no amount of curriculum material can make a significant difference if teachers, who present and translate the material, do not have the knowledge, attitude and commitment to the ideological change implied in equity and justice. As Marshall McLuhan (1964) has pointed out, the medium is the message.

This paper begins by tracing the theoretical changes in the concept of the role of education in relation to an ethnically heterogenous population, and the implications for teacher education. The assumption here is that innovations in primary and secondary education will not be fully implemented without change in the preparation of teachers. In addition, change in teacher education will not be implemented without efforts focused on those who teach the teachers.[1] In general, social policy for a multicultural society has not been effectively translated into educational responses in the school system, and much less so in teacher education institutions. The second section of this chapter gives the educational scenarios in English and French Canada, and teacher education programmes. Two surveys are briefly discussed: the first, a national study of institutional policies on multiculturalism (1993); and the second, a small study of teacher educators at a major teacher education institution in Canada, namely, McGill University in Montréal (1990).[2] The chapter concludes by reviewing recent initiatives at policy implementation at the McGill Faculty of Education.

Theoretical Background

Along with a change in the concept of the role of education there has been, perhaps more importantly, a revolutionary shift in the concept of knowledge.

Consensus theorists viewed education's role as that of cultural transmission and human capital formation. In schools, this was the stage of assimilation which envisions a monocultural society, and implies non-recognition or acceptance of cultural differences based on unequal dominant–subordinate group relations. For teacher education, subject content and technical aspects of classroom management were the focus. Differences in students (by race, ethnicity, gender or class) were not considered important. The attempt was to devalue and negate non-dominant group characteristics. The result was to structurally 'exclude' other groups.

The original explanations of consensus theorists were severely challenged by conflict theorists who saw the control of the socialization of students by the dominant class as the most significant function of schooling. They saw the 'transmission of culture' model as depoliticizing the notion of culture as well as the function of the school, because what was being transmitted was the discourse of domination. The fundamental function of the school has been increasingly seen as involving a highly political process, whereby the dominant culture reproduces itself by maintaining social, economic, racial and gender inequality in society. The connection between knowledge and power was emphasized. This was the stage when education's role was seen as accommodation, which was still based on unequal relations but recognized the need to make an effort to include the hitherto 'excluded' groups. Compensatory programmes such as English as a second language (ESL) were thought to make up deficiencies among culturally different students. Minority language and culture programmes — ethnic studies, bilingual education (especially in Québec) and a 'museum approach' to exotic cultures — were introduced. Not much change was made in teacher education except that ESL jobs opened up, and a few 'ethnic group' students were accepted for training to teach ethnic studies. On the whole, teachers were expected to be able to do 'cultural' days and displays, while concentrating in the main on issues of content and discipline, and transmission of the dominant culture.

Over the last two decades, the critical dialogue arising out of the work of the new sociology of education in Britain has influenced analysis of the socially constructed nature of knowledge, as well as the social location of those who produce school knowledge and use it as a 'neutral object' to be transmitted to 'subjects' who have a different social location. The 'politics of location' (Rich, 1986) brought into focus the underlying relations of power, and the recognition that school knowledge is far from neutral in serving all students equally. Certainly, it alienates those who do not have the 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1973) or the 'language codes' (Bernstein, 1973) required for success in schools because of racial, ethnic, gender and class differences. The implications for teacher education were significant. Studies showed that teacher expectations influenced student performance, and that teachers had different expectations based on gender, race and social class (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Rist, 1970). The work of psychologists indicated cultural differences in ways of learning and behaving (Cole and Bruner, 1972). At this stage multicultural education took on a more

political aspect, dealing with issues of discrimination and racism, and human rights and anti-racist education became the preferred terms. This prompted discussion on how to make teacher education multicultural as well as focus on teacher educators themselves (Lynch, 1987; Banks, 1979; Craft, 1981; Gay, 1986). The idea was that 'if education has to become multicultural, teacher education has to become multicultural first . . . [but] how can teacher education become multicultural with teacher educators that do not have a multicultural education?' (de Vreede, 1986). Cultural sensitivity and knowledge for teachers was considered important, but anti-racist education implied understanding of historical and social-economic forces involved in cultural politics.

More recently, a critical pedagogy drawing on theories of culture, power and hegemony of social theorists such as Dewey, Freire and Gramsci, has taken the analysis further in order to find solutions. The nature and purpose of schooling is defined as empowerment. The focus is on the relationship between 'power and knowledge, learning and empowerment, and authority and human dignity' (Freire and Giroux, 1989). However, the knowledge-power relationship is seen differently, so that empowerment is not as much to gain power in the present society as to transform society itself. This involves deconstructing the traditional knowledge and power boundaries and constructing knowledge that includes (rather than excludes) different worldviews. The implications for teacher education are to go further than awareness in racism and intercultural relations. It is to train students in cultural politics in order for them to be agents to counter cultural hegemony and differential power. Teachers must truly become agents of structural change in society.

The questions arising from the above evolution of the concept of knowledge and the function of schooling are central to the teaching profession. What kinds of knowledge will best ensure that students are critical and participating citizens? Who produces school knowledge, who speaks for society? How are the various groups of students (racial, ethnic, gender and class) socially and culturally located in terms of the socio-cultural point of view of school knowledge (curriculum)? Does this curriculum serve students differently depending on their socio-cultural situation? Do teachers assume their pedagogical practices are best, even though there are differences in ways of knowing and learning?

These questions transform the process of teaching. They also change the student-teacher equation where, as Freire (1970) has pointed out, knowledge is not an object to be transmitted from the teacher who has the knowledge, to the students who do not. Knowledge is seen increasingly, as resulting from specific social and historical relations, rather than as static entities which are context and value-free. As such, students are active knowers at the centre of the learning process, knowing subjects, rather than at the receiving end acquiring knowledge as objects. The changes in curriculum content and process implied by the major shifts, challenge the 'knowledge' taught by schools as the only legitimate form. The 'politics of location' become central to the teaching and learning act. Conventional teaching practices and knowledge are at stake.

When education is viewed as a political process the teacher's role is seen

as even more critical, because schooling, is then neither neutral nor objective. If teachers are key players in the education game, then teacher education programmes are of great significance because they train the teachers. However, teacher education has generally been treated as being apolitical, because the teacher education institutions separate the teaching experience from the reproduction function of the inequalities prevalent in the social order, in general, and from the questions posed above, in particular. The conceptual shifts in education imply that teacher education is crucial in making the teaching experience a highly political one, because it questions the very nature and quality of knowledge and society, and because of the role of the teacher in perpetuating the dominant ideology. Giroux and Simon (1981) point out that ideology, which is a value-laden view of the world, becomes hegemonic when it is institutionalized by the dominant group to legitimize existing practices. This ideology presents itself as what is good for the public and elevates itself to a universal truth (op.cit., p. 149). It is this concept of hegemonic ideology which 'strips teacher-education programmes of their purported innocence'.

Given the expansion of mass education and the racial, ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of Canadian society, do teacher education programmes encourage student teachers to acquire a critical understanding of the cultural experiences of their students? More specifically, are they encouraged to include and re-articulate the historical experiences of women, lower classes, racial and ethnic minorities in an attempt to give them a sense of identity, worth and meaning on the one hand, and empower them to become critical and participating citizens, on the other? What is legitimate knowledge as seen by educators who teach teachers, and what is their attitude and commitment to producing effective teachers in a multicultural/multiracial society?

Responses to a Multicultural Society: Policy Stages

Traditionally, education in Canada has been assimilationist so that all groups were expected to adjust as best as they could into the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture. Teacher education programmes, therefore, were designed to give student teachers information on the most efficient ways to transmit the dominant ideology, maintain control and impart information. The process was treated administratively and methodologically, with no consideration of cultural/ethnic/racial/gender/class differences. 'Deficient' was equated with 'different', and teacher education stressed ways of making the dominant culture achievable in schools through the myth of an objective selection system.

With increasing recognition that the heterogenous nature of society could not any longer be ignored (because of racist incidents in several parts of Canada, and the independence movement in French Canada), educational policies have been challenged. Immigration has dramatically changed the demographic face of Canada, and the 1991 Census data showed that about half the population belong to neither the British (the dominant group in English Canada) nor French

(dominant in Québec) groups. Visible minority groups form 5.3 per cent of the total population, (this does not include the native populations).[3] In the French-speaking province of Québec, people of French origin constitute the majority (81 per cent), so that the non-French make up 19 per cent of the population (9 per cent British roots, 10 per cent belonging to other and mixed origins, native Canadians 1 per cent). Studies have shown that the hierarchy of Canadian society is based on ethnicity, class and gender (Porter, 1965; Lautard and Guppy, 1990).

Canada has had a multicultural policy at the Federal level since 1971, which was put into law in the Canadian *Multiculturalism Act* of 1988. Education is a provincial responsibility in Canada and the Federal policy can have only indirect implications. However, several provinces have adopted multicultural policies in their education systems. Québec rejected the Federal multicultural policy and adopted the term 'intercultural education' to refer to the education of non-French groups.[4] Both multicultural and intercultural policies mean assistance to integrate into mainstream society by creating more opportunities for minority students, but they do not imply creating a new composite culture through social reconstruction.

Perhaps due to the provincial jurisdiction over education, in Canada there is no national level multicultural education policy either for schools, in teacher accreditation or teacher education. However, multiculturalism programmes in Canada are increasingly becoming important in schools in an effort to adopt a more pluralistic vision of society.

Teacher Education

Although the role of teachers is crucial in this transition from the assimilation mode of the past to a more multicultural (in the sense of intercultural) vision of the future, teacher education institutions in Canada have responded in a variety of ways to the issues involved. It is evident that teacher education programmes which have been assimilationist must change dramatically to be effective in a multicultural milieu. Yet, teacher education institutions have been slow to respond to change by assuming that student teachers either do not need to, or will automatically be able to deal with the wide range of cultural diversity in the classroom (Ghosh, 1991). Researchers have, over the last two decades, identified the need to enable teachers to cope with classroom diversity through different teaching methods, classroom organization, positive attitudes and cultural understanding. The debate continues as to how best to structure teacher education programmes to allow change. In general, some school boards have been quicker to take up the challenge than teacher education institutions, by developing multicultural or race relations policies and providing in-service training. Teacher education programmes do little to equip student teachers with skills for working in multicultural classrooms, either during their student teaching experience or in the first years on the job.

A National Survey

In 1993, a survey of forty-seven faculties of education (thirty-three English and fourteen French) across Canada were asked to respond to a few questions related to institutional policy associated with multiculturalism. Of the total, thirty-one responded (twenty-five English and six French). The majority of the respondents indicated that their faculties and/or universities had formal policies dealing with the following issues: sexism (84 per cent), equity (81 per cent), students' rights (72 per cent), racism (69 per cent), and human rights (56 per cent). However, the majority did not actively recruit students from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds into their teacher education programmes. Of those who did (44 per cent), contacting community groups seemed to be the method used most frequently. Once the students were in, there did not appear to be any special mechanisms for supporting them. What was most surprising is that 97 per cent of the institutions did not have any separate compulsory courses devoted to multicultural education. The majority (61 per cent) indicated that they offered separate non-compulsory courses which students may or may not take. In the area of practice-teaching, student teachers in about 60 per cent of the institutions could opt for placement in a multicultural school, but the majority did not have specific schools identified for multicultural field experience. Few institutions had pre-, mid-, or post-field experience seminars with students concerning the realities of the multicultural classroom. What was alarming was that 97 per cent of institutions said that their student teaching supervisors were not required to complete any special multicultural preparation.

Intercultural Education in Québec

In Québec, the historical domination of the larger French population by a small British élite has confined the dialogue to French–English relations to the neglect of other groups. The rise of Québec nationalism in the 1960s challenged this equation, and led to a policy of Francisization which rejected the Federal policy of multiculturalism as a threat to French language and culture.

In 1990, for the first time the Government developed a policy statement on integration in recognition of the pluralistic reality of Québec society. *Let's Build Québec together: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration* (1990) points out that 'traditional Québec society advocated a uniform cultural and ideological model' (1990, p. 17). However, now it underscores the need for immigration to

- counter the demographic decline, (with a fertility rate of 1.5 which cannot ensure replacement of the generations, especially if out-migration continues at present rates);
- reverse the ageing of the population, (it is estimated that 25 per cent will be over 65 by the year 2026); and
- vitalize the economy through a larger labour market and increased consumption, (contrary to popular belief, the relation between unemployment and immigration is inverse).

Since 1981, non-Francophone Québeckers' needs are being dealt with through the setting up of a Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration. It was then that the idea of their integration through the concept of 'intercultural education' was introduced. Several government documents have emphasized the need for intercultural education, and Québec's Human Rights Charter (1982) protects the rights of individuals. Despite this, policy at the provincial level has not played a leadership role for educational institutions. But it was not until the 1980s that some attention was paid to the education of cultural communities in Québec. The objective of *Autant de Façons d'Être Québécois: Plan d'Action du Gouvernment du Québec à l'Intention des Communautés Culturelles (1981)* was to eliminate all forms of discrimination for members of cultural communities, and work towards their right to equal opportunity. This was reinforced by documents relating to cultural communities and immigration in 1981 and 1985, and the Québec Human Rights Charter, 1982. The Superior Council of Education put out documents in 1983 and 1987 stressing 'intercultural education' and its importance for respecting the diverse cultural, racial and ethnic groups which comprise Québec society, and recommendations were made to develop intercultural education.

Although the English population has been small in number in Québec, it has had a well-established educational system. Historically, the cultural minorities sent their children to the English system which has been heterogenous. The teachers, however, have not been prepared for dealing with this diverse situation. The majority of teachers for the English school system (elementary and secondary) are trained at McGill University (which is a major English-speaking institution.[5] The university as a whole has no multicultural policy, although it has an employment equity policy for women and is now developing a race-relations policy. The Faculty of Education has been slow to acknowledge the changing nature and needs of society, and their implications for teacher education (Ghosh, 1991). In response to the 1988 Interracial and Intercultural Policy of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montréal (the largest English School Board), the Faculty of Education at McGill set up the same year, an advisory subcommittee of the Academic Policy Committee (APC) called the Committee on Interracial and Intercultural Education, to look into the implications of a diverse population for teacher education programmes. As a start, the committee decided to assess the situation through a survey before making any recommendations for pre-service teacher education programmes. The following section discusses that survey.

The McGill Study

The study at McGill University in Montréal, Québec in 1990, had the general objective of ascertaining the attitudes of those who teach the teachers towards multicultural education, and the extent to which multicultural content was being infused into courses. This also included clarification of terminology.

At that time, McGill's Faculty of Education had no goals or policy on multiculturalism.

'Intercultural education', the term used by the province was adopted, and does not necessarily imply a concept different from 'multicultural education'; i.e., it refers to issues related to the educational needs of minority cultural groups (no emphasis on interrelationships among groups). The word interracial was added to indicate that multi/intercultural was not to be confined to culture as artifact, but rather to focus on race and racism as central issues in the concept. Therefore, the specific objectives of the McGill survey were first, to determine Faculty members' understanding of the terms 'multicultural' and 'intercultural' education; second, to identify the extent of multicultural content in the Faculty's courses; and thirdly, to find out whether and to what extent issues relating to sexism, racism and human rights were dealt with in courses.

The study consisted of a six-item interview protocol conducted over a two-week period in late May and early June, 1990. The interviews were carried out by a team of graduate students, and all eighty-three interviews (all the full-time faculty) were completed in the offices of the Faculty members. The data, in the form of interviewers' notes, were computerized using anonymity, and it was analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The term 'multiculturalism' indicated different things to different people. The largest number thought it meant diversity in society (43.4 per cent), some thought it emphasized sensitivity (19.3 per cent), others saw it as coexistence (14.5 per cent), equality (7.2 per cent), commonality (3.6 per cent), tolerance (3.6 per cent), integration (1.2 per cent), bilingualism and biculturalism (1.2 per cent). To 6 per cent, the concept made no sense. The term 'intercultural education' was unclear and of doubtful value to 27.7 per cent, while 25.3 per cent thought it was learning about other cultures and about 23 per cent considered it to be awareness of other cultures. Around 10 per cent saw it as bridging gaps, 7 per cent the same as multiculturalism, others as integration (3.6 per cent), and bilingualism and biculturalism (2.4 per cent). The discrimination, racism and equality factors were not part of the concept. About two-thirds of the sample indicated having some multicultural content in their courses, although half of them could not specify the content. One-third either did not acknowledge having multicultural content or did not want to answer that question. Those who did, said that they dealt with issues, assigned readings, or allowed for interaction among ethnic groups. Of the three issues dealt with specifically, 72 per cent said they dealt with sexism but only 16 per cent saw it as a strong component of their courses. Race, ethnicity and racism was claimed to be dealt with by 60 per cent, but over half of them were unable to specify how they did it. The others said they used discussions and separate topics. Almost 40 per cent did not deal with these issues at all. Over 60 per cent claimed to deal with human rights in their courses, but less than 5 per cent could specify how. This discrepancy between those responding positively to the inclusion of specific issues of sexism, racism and human rights and lack of ability to specify how they did may be an indication that these issues are considered significant but Faculty

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members either did not know how to incorporate them; or thought it was 'politically correct' to claim they did. It is alarming that a substantial number did not consider these issues important for their student teachers.

The responses indicate that teacher educators generally tend to be in agreement that multicultural content should be part of pre-service teacher training, although they need help with how to do it. What is troublesome, however, is that a substantial number do not deal with race and ethnicity issues.

Recent Initiatives

At McGill, the study resulted in a report to the Academic Policy Committee which made a number of recommendations, the first of which was to create a Faculty Intercultural Teacher Education Committee (FITEC).[6] This was done in November 1990. As a result of recommendation 2, a series of speakers have been brought to McGill since 1992 to dialogue with Faculty members on multicultural education. In addition, a yearly seminar series is conducted in conjunction with the English school boards of the Greater Montréal Area.

In November 1993, the results of the national survey (outlined above) were submitted to FITEC. A full reports and recommendations on multicultural education was then developed by FITEC. The following three recommendations which were adopted by Faculty Council became Faculty policy on multicultural education in April 1994:

1. That the Faculty of Education ensure that a demonstrable effort be made to enrol in its teacher education programmes students that more adequately represent the racial and ethnic diversity of the population.
2. That the Faculty of Education ensure that all its programmes include multicultural frameworks.
3. That the Faculty of Education encourage research in the field of multicultural — including anti-discrimination — education, and increase the communication of research results among members of the Faculty.

Acting on the first item, a subcommittee was formed on the inclusion of non-traditional students. Of its seven recommendations, four were approved in November of 1994. They dealt with the development of policies, programmes and services for the recruitment, access, retention and graduation of students from traditionally under-represented communities; suggested inclusions in the faculty's promotional materials as well as in the faculty *Calendar*, to encourage applications; and advised that community contacts be used to recruit those from the under-represented communities who show promise of making a contribution as teachers, and to pursue a more vigorous implementation of the university's mature applicant provisions.

FITEC has started contacting communities which are listed as being under-represented in the school system. The proposed *Calendar* changes have made

their way to the university administration. In response to student feedback on the need for multicultural content and methods in the teacher education programme, it has recently been recommended that, 'the Associate Dean (Academic) investigate the possibility of organizing a series of workshops to: (a) sensitize faculty to gender issues, multiculturalism and individual differences, and (b) help faculty to incorporate, in concrete ways, these three issues into their courses.' The workshops are now being organized, and will be offered to Faculty members in both the Fall 1995 and Winter 1996 semesters. In addition, the reorganized Bachelor of Education programmes, both elementary and secondary, will have, from September 1995, one *compulsory* course on the multicultured classroom.

Conclusion

Education is slow to respond to social needs, and teacher education institutions are perhaps the most conservative and unlikely to change. Teachers do 'pick up' multicultural and anti-racist perspectives and initiatives, either to meet their immediate needs or because of their own moral imperatives; or sometimes, in an effort to do their best within the possibilities in the school or social system. But this *ad hoc* method of response to a very important social need is less than acceptable. Teachers cannot be left to deal with these issues as best they can. They need well-designed courses and guided student teaching experiences. Teacher education institutions will have to overcome the battle cries of autonomy and academic freedom in whose names many teachers of teachers resist responding directly to the needs of their students (the future and current teachers), and indirectly to the needs of the elementary and secondary students, and society as a whole. Peace, security and the very fabric of Canadian society are at stake.

It would appear that McGill's Faculty of Education is among the leaders in developing a pro-active multicultural policy. Its implementation will depend on the momentum created and the ability of the leadership of the Faculty to sustain it.

Notes

1 See, for example, de Vreede (1986), Lynch (1987), Craft (1981) and Gay (1986) for a discussion of the need for 'rejigging' all teacher educators who are themselves subject to restricted cultural perceptions and who distort the professional behaviour of their students.
2 The study was undertaken by Professor C. Milligan at McGill University.
3 'Visible minorities' is the Federal Government term to refer to the non-white population in Canada.
4 The term 'intercultural education' in Québec means to enable cultural communities to integrate into a new social order which is pluralistic but Francophonic (Québec,

1990). It is not the same as the definition of the Council of Europe, meaning interaction and interchange of values, lifestyles and symbolic representations between individuals and among groups.

5 McGill also trains teachers through distance education, and by sending instructors to remote parts of northern Canada.

6 'Interculturalism' was defined as the 'equality of opportunity for people who should not be discriminated against because of cultural (including socio-economic) differences'.

Other recommendations:

- to raise faculty awareness and emphasize the need for an intercultural perspective in teacher education, and specific teaching strategies for different subject areas;
- a required course on issues of diversity and intercultural components in appropriate departmental offerings;
- FITEC meet with the librarian to increase relevant holdings; and
- development of in-service courses for practising teachers.

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Chapter 5

Practice without Policy: Pluralist Teacher Education in Israel

Abraham Yogev

In this analysis of the ethnic, religious, migrant and national pluralism of modern Israel, Professor Yogev outlines educational needs, the opportunities for teacher education, and the structural constraints on policy.

There is no doubt that the Israeli education system is characterized by a pluralistic composition of students with respect to nationality, ethnic origin, and religion. It consists of Jewish and Arab students, and within the Jewish population, distinct groups of students regarding ethnicity, wave of immigration to Israel, and religiosity. Given the pluralistic nature of students, the relatively small size of the country, and the centralisation of its education system, one would expect the Israeli Ministry of Education to develop a clear-cut policy of teacher education toward pluralism. Such a policy could prepare the teachers to handle heterogeneous classes, and could eventually enhance mutual understanding among students and the academic achievement of disadvantaged groups.

Despite the expectation, the Ministry has never developed a comprehensive policy on this issue. Teacher education toward pluralism, to the extent that it is practised by institutions of teacher training and in various frameworks of in-service teacher education, is mainly the outcome of voluntary efforts of many organizations and groups. The issue of practice without policy deserves special attention. This paper contends that the cross-cut cleavages of Israeli society prevent an overall coherent policy of multicultural teacher education, due to specific considerations regarding each cleavage.

To address this issue, I will refer in particular to four cleavages among student groups: *ethnic* (between Ashkenazi Jews and the subordinate group of Oriental Jews; and between Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union and veteran students);[1] *religious* (between Jewish religious and secular students, both studying within the State education system); and *national* (between Jewish and Israeli Arab students). I will show that various reasons related to each cleavage have resulted in merely partial or voluntary teacher education programmes aimed at minority achievements or mutual understanding and tolerance among the involved groups of students.

The Marginality of Multicultural Training in Teacher Education

Above and beyond the specific reasons preventing, with respect to each cleavage, a comprehensive policy of multicultural teacher education, it should be clarified that multifacet pluralism, such as in Israel, creates by itself structural constraints on teacher training toward pluralism. In a society which is cross-cut by nationality, ethnicity, religion, and immigration waves, the various groups involved in the multipluralistic mosaic develop the tendency to concentrate in specific residential areas, and to promote their group interests in various areas of life. It is difficult in such cases to translate a multicultural ideology — strong as it may be on the official state level — into specific policies promoting pluralism in reality. In this respect, too much pluralism hinders the development of comprehensive multicultural policies.

This tendency is evident in the Israeli education system. Despite the affiliation of most schools with the state education system and their regulation by the Ministry of Education, the state schools are divided into national and religious sectors, each of them separately supervised by the Ministry. Thus, Israeli Arab students, constituting about 20 per cent of the school population, mostly study in their own schools, supervised by the Ministry's departments of Arab and Druze education. Within the Jewish school system, the Zionist state religious schools — which comprise a further 20 per cent of the student body — are run by a special council within the Ministry, which is not under the jurisdiction of the Ministry's General Director. Additional orthodox religious groups maintain their independent school systems, which are only partially supervised by the Ministry. Furthermore, the residential concentrations of Oriental Jews and of recent Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, contribute to the school segregation of these groups. It seems reasonable to conclude that the Israeli education system, despite its plurality and integrative ideology, tends toward *segregation* by nationality, ethnicity and religion.

This tendency does not preclude the necessity of teacher training espousing pluralism, since students' education toward multicultural tolerance and the educational advancement of disadvantaged groups are important goals even in segregated schools. Yet, the difficulty is that the subdivision of the school system is reflected in the patterns of teacher training. Israeli teaching candidates are trained either in teacher seminaries and colleges, which provide teaching certification programmes for the elementary and junior high school levels; or in academic schools of education, which maintain university programmes mainly leading toward the high school teaching certificate. Both types of institutes turn out several thousand new teachers each year, of which about half practice teaching after receiving their certificates (Israeli Ministry of Education, 1993, pp. 40, 43; Mor, 1995).

The problem is that the teacher seminaries and colleges, which are directly supervised by the Ministry of Education, are divided by national and religious cleavages: there are separate institutes for the training of Arab teachers, and for

the training of teachers for the Jewish state religious schools, not to mention the separate institutes for teacher training of the independent orthodox schools. Only a minority of Arab and Jewish religious teachers at the elementary and junior high school levels are trained in the seminaries and colleges for the Jewish secular state school system. As for the training of high school teachers, the majority of the state religious high school teachers are trained in the School of Education of the religious Bar-Ilan University. Some of them, as well as the Arab high school teachers, obtain their certificates in schools of education of other universities, together with future teachers of the Jewish secular school system. However, the teacher training programmes of all academic schools of education emphasize disciplinary issues of teaching, rather than social issues such as multicultural training.

It seems that the structural features of teacher training in Israel either follow the subcultural divisions of the school system, or bring together teaching trainees of different backgrounds in academic frameworks which do not emphasize the general social and cultural issues of teacher training. These structural constraints on teacher training toward pluralism are accentuated in view of the growing professionalization of Israeli teachers. The recent survey of teaching staff by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (1994) shows that despite the rapid growth of 25 per cent in the number of teachers over a period of five years, the formal educational level and the number of years of teaching experience of all teachers, (and especially those of elementary schools), have increased. This is partly due to the academization of training in teacher colleges. After a long, unsuccessful struggle for the academicization of such training programmes during the 1960s and the 1970s (Yaffe, 1973), teacher colleges were allowed during the 1980s to open BEd programmes leading toward both a bachelor degree and a teaching certificate for the elementary and junior high school levels. During the first half of the 1990s, the number of teaching trainees in such college programmes has increased by 75 per cent, (Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, 1995, p. 92).

Potentially, the professionalization of teacher training could have enhanced the education of teachers toward pluralism. Yet, it seems that it has rather marginalized the issue due to the concentration of efforts on the academicization process. Recently, the outgoing Director of the Division of Teacher Training in the Ministry of Education, in a lecture summing up the Ministry's activity in the area during the last decade, devoted his words entirely to the academicization process, and did not mention at all the need for the multicultural training of teachers (Eisen, 1994). The incoming Director of that Division similarly emphasized the need for further professionalization of teacher training institutes and their staff, avoiding the issue of training toward pluralism (Ziv, 1994). Leading officials responsible for teacher training in Israel thus disregard the issue of multicultural education.

The marginalization of the issue further extends to the area of in-service teacher education. A recent study discusses the effects of the Ministry's new teacher induction project, which has provided novice teachers with assistance and guidance from tutors in thirty-three teacher seminaries, colleges and academic

Table 5.1: Percentage of schools in the in-service teacher education programme offering various topics, 1995

Topics Offered to Teachers	All Schools	Jewish State Schools	Jewish State Religious Schools	Arab Schools
1 Curriculum planning and teaching methods	68.0%	74.4%	64.2%	48.1%
2 Computers and teaching applications	44.6	41.3	41.7	62.3
3 Staff development	33.9	40.9	25.5	18.9
4 General topics in education and psychology	25.0	27.2	25.9	15.1
5 General enrichment	23.9	25.2	16.5	21.7
6 Annual school topic[1]	23.3	27.1	13.4	23.1
7 Interpersonal communication	16.1	18.0	13.4	12.7
8 Teaching of specific school subjects	13.0	13.6	14.0	9.4
9 Judaism	11.9	1.5	47.0	0.0
10 Zionism and Israel studies	2.8	1.2	4.7	6.6
11 Islam — religion and culture	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
Number of schools in the programme	1374	841	321	212
Total number of schools in the system[2]	2080	1155	547	378
Percentage of schools participating in programme	66.1%	72.8%	58.7%	56.1%

Source: Analysis of administrative data collected from schools by the Ministry of Education (as of 30 January 1995)

Notes:

1 The annual school topic in 1995 was 'The Peace' in the Jewish and Arab state schools, and 'Student's Dignity' in the Jewish state religious schools.

2 Excluding independent and private schools.

schools of education since 1990, (Katzir and Pasternak, 1995). This project was accompanied by specific new courses for the novice teachers in the training institutes. Of the eighty-four new courses only six were on heterogeneous classrooms, and in several additional institutes the topic was either added to or emphasized in general courses.

Furthermore, in 1994 the Ministry introduced a new school-based teacher education programme which enables all schools, on a voluntary basis, to set up their own programme of in-service teacher training. Schools are expected to train their teachers in issues aimed at solving their self-defined problems or policy preferences, as a means of increasing school autonomy within the system. About two-thirds of all state schools currently participate in the programme, and the topics they have chosen for teacher education, as reported to the Ministry in January 1995, are listed in Table 5.1.

As shown, the most popular topics are curriculum planning, teaching methods, and computer applications. *None* of the topics chosen specifically refers to teachers' multicultural education. Moreover, topics which could have enhanced the mutual understanding among the Arab and the Jewish secular and religious school sectors — such as Judaism or Islamic culture — have mainly been chosen by schools of the specific sectors, further emphasizing their cultural differences.

The above discussion demonstrates that both pre-service and in-service teacher education in Israel focus on professional and academic issues, and neglect the issue of education toward pluralism. The marginality of the multicultural issue actually follows the structural constraints on multiculturalism in the school system at large, and in teacher training institutes in particular. These structural and professional factors hinder the development of a comprehensive policy of multicultural teacher training. They do not preclude, however, various voluntary efforts aimed at pluralism within the education system. Turning now to the discussion of such efforts with respect to each of the four social and cultural cleavages mentioned earlier, I will attempt to show further specific constraints on the development of a comprehensive policy of pluralistic teacher training.

Teacher Training Related to Ethnic Cleavages in Jewish Schools

Educational disparities between Jewish Oriental students of Asian-African ancestry, and students of European-American origins who comprise the dominant Jewish ethno-cultural group of Ashkenazim, constitute the cleavage most attended to. The disadvantages of Oriental students in academic achievement and educational attainment are related to the fact that the massive wave of Jewish immigration from Moslem countries in the Middle East and North Africa took place in the early 1950s, when the Israeli Ashkenazim had already established themselves as the dominant ethno-cultural group. Socio-economic inequalities between the two groups, intensified residentially and occupationally, were transmitted to the

educational sphere, and have been perpetuated with respect to second and third generation students. In an attempt to overcome disparities in school quality, the Ministry of Education used the school reform of the early 1970s, which has introduced the junior high school level into the old 8+4 school system, to promote the policy of 'school integration'. This policy, which requires the ethnic and social desegregation of all junior high schools, has been implemented in the last twenty-five years with respect to two-thirds of the relevant age group, and has been extended to many elementary schools as well.

The school desegregation policy has created heterogeneous classrooms, mixing together Ashkenazi and Oriental students of varying academic abilities and social and cultural backgrounds. The question is, of course, what has been done to prepare the teachers for handling the new classroom situations from both social and learning perspectives?

For two decades, until the early 1990s, school integration was particularly aimed at the social and cultural aspects of mutual understanding between students of the two groups. This stemmed from the basic conceptualization of the policy, which largely rested on the 'contact hypothesis' (Amir, 1969), advocating the enhancement of ethnic intergroup relations via controlled contact situations. This trend was evident in field experiments and research on school integration (Amir and Sharan, 1984), as well as in teacher preparation for such intergroup contacts. Several experimental programmes of teacher training toward multicultural school situations have been produced, mainly by staff of the Institute for the Advancement of School Integration, establish by the Ministry at Bar-Ilan University. Perhaps the best known of them, the 'I You We' project (Ben-Ari *et al.*, 1989), suggests, for example, various teaching techniques and structured lesson plans for the promotion of social relations in integrated schools. The activities proposed by this programme concern various social issues, (e.g., cultural variations, helping others, neighbourhood involvement), which are discussed and enacted by mixed student groups. These groups are supposed to be small and to act on the basis of equal status (since the activities do not require prior knowledge) and common group goals — according to the pre-conditions suggested by the 'contact hypothesis' for successful intergroup relations.

While this typical project, as well as several others, have been implemented by school teachers on an experimental basis, teacher training for the socio-cultural aspects of school desegregation has never been extensively implemented by the institutes of teacher training or by the school system itself. Perhaps the reason was the avoidance by such programmes of the real difficulties involved in teaching classrooms composed of students with heterogeneous learning abilities.

By the early 1990s, this issue had been recognized as the major problem of school desegregation in Israel and in other countries. Efforts have shifted to the development of 'alternative teaching methods' to replace the traditional frontal teaching in heterogeneous classrooms. Various teaching techniques — such as individualized instruction, active learning, grouping by learning style, mastery learning, complex instruction, and cooperative classroom learning — have been conceptualized and experimented with by various research and development

groups (Rich and Ben-Ari, 1994), frequently with the cooperation of teacher training institutes (Adler *et al.*, 1994). Recently, the Ministry's Institute for Research and Development in Teaching has adapted some of these alternative teaching strategies in a detailed instruction manual aimed for training purposes at teacher colleges and seminars (Israeli Ministry of Education, 1995).

Despite such efforts, academic schools of education and the other teacher training institutes have been slow in adapting their teaching programmes to the needs of ethnically heterogeneous classrooms. Surveying the relevant courses in seven teacher colleges and five schools of education, Adler *et al.* (1994) found a variety of courses on disadvantaged students, but only a handful of direct courses on school integration and on interventions in heterogeneous classrooms. The Israeli State Comptroller Bureau (1993) found, in its independent survey, few desegregated schools which have implemented alternative teaching methods. Its report blames the Ministry of Education for 'putting the carriage before the horse' by implementing school desegregation without the appropriate teacher training, and the institutes of teacher training for not implementing the relevant teacher preparation in their instruction.

It seems that the prospects of enhancing full-scale teacher training in this respect are far from bright. By and large, this is due to the current debate on the school integration policy. Despite some encouraging reports on the contribution of school desegregation to the school achievement of disadvantaged students (e.g., Dar and Resh, 1986), the policy itself has been under attack as promoting a social myth of ethnic integration (Yogev, 1989); or as enhancing the patronage of the Ashkenazi establishment through the co-optation of higher socio-economic strata of Oriental students on the account of more disadvantaged Oriental groups (Swirski, 1990). Recently, the debate has heated up in public and academic circles as a result of the Ministry's acceptance of a school choice programme in Tel Aviv. While proponents of school desegregation view school choice as a threat to the integration policy (e.g., Shachar, 1994), others regard it as an opportunity to promote school excellence in peripheral neighbourhoods where school desegregation did not succeed (e.g., Yogev, 1994). The recent implementation of school choice by Tel Aviv and other municipalities may obviously bear some future consequences for teacher training with respect to the cleavage between Orientals and Ashkenazim.

Teacher Training for New Jewish Immigrant Groups

An additional ethnic cleavage in Jewish schools is that between Israeli veteran students and groups of new Jewish immigrants, especially from the Republics of the former Soviet Union. Since 1989, Israel has experienced a massive wave of about 400,000 Jewish immigrants from these Republics, due to economic difficulties and revived anti-semitism in their post-Soviet upheaval. This immigration wave, which has receded since 1992, is unique in comparison to previous ones since the majority of immigrants are professionals, highly educated, and

their immigration has not necessarily been motivated by Zionist ideology. To overcome the specific difficulties in occupational and residential location of these immigrants, the Government has decided on a 'direct absorption' policy. In contrast to previous immigration waves, such as that of Ethiopian Jews, the new immigrants were provided with subsidized income and language instruction, but were free to choose their residence and employment. Residential concentration by Republic of origin, high unemployment rates, and underemployment of professionals are several results of this policy, perhaps unavoidable given the magnitude of this immigration wave.

The Jewish school system had to absorb about 60,000 immigrant students, unevenly distributed among schools. Furthermore, the Ministry has followed the direct absorption policy by leaving the decision on absorption modes to the schools themselves, and avoiding a large-scale study of the involved educational issues. An ethnographic study (Eisikovits and Beck, 1990) reveals two models of immigrant absorption developed by individual schools: one advocating a quick cultural assimilation of students, the other opting for the maintenance of their specific cultural identities. Schools differed, for instance, in their policy of dividing up the immigrant students among classes, or grouping them in one classroom to soften the cultural shock.

Teacher training with respect to the new immigrant students involves two issues: the training or re-education of teachers among the immigrants themselves, and the training of Israeli veterans, both experienced teachers and trainees, in handling immigrant students. The Ministry of Education realized that the many experienced teachers among the immigrants could be a valuable addition to the teacher labour force. Not only could they help in the absorption of immigrant students in schools where they were concentrated; but the majority of these teachers also held academic degrees, and were highly experienced in required teaching areas such as mathematics and the sciences, (Semyonov *et al.*, 1993). Short training courses for experienced teachers to acquaint them with the Israeli school system, and longer re-training courses for other professionals transferring to teaching were held by the Ministry, several teacher colleges and academic schools of education. A study of the adaptation of experienced immigrant teachers in Israeli schools revealed high satisfaction levels among both teachers (with respect to their new jobs) and their principals (Semyonov *et al.*, 1993). However, an evaluation of the teacher induction project for new immigrant teachers specified adaptation problems related to their traditional pedagogical approaches, language and cultural barriers, and the need to adapt themselves to new curricular structures, (Michael and Shimoni, 1994).

The preparation of veteran Israeli teachers and of teacher trainees toward the education of the immigrant students, and mutual understanding between them and veteran students has been more problematic. The Ministry and teacher training institutes have not prepared extensive instruction material or specific courses on these issues. The policy of leaving such matters in the hands of immigrant absorbing schools was based on the assumption that the new students would not pose a serious problem because of their family origin. However, two

consecutive studies of immigrant students and their Israeli veteran peers (Cohen, 1991; Tatar *et al.*, 1994) repeat similar findings: while the immigrant students did not encounter acute learning difficulties, they suffered social isolation and stress due to estrangement and rejection by their veteran peers. The initial enthusiasm of the teachers themselves has been eroded by the continuous influx of immigrant students, insufficient resources and support, and classroom difficulties in bringing the veteran and immigrant students together. Though such problems may gradually recede as the acculturation of these immigrant students proceeds, the case demonstrates the absence in general of a clear-cut policy on teacher education toward multicultural immigrant absorption.

Teacher Training for the Religious and Secular State Schools

We now turn to the cultural division between religious and secular schools within Jewish State education. The schism between religious and secular Jews in Israel constitutes one of its major cultural cleavages, reflected in continuous political and public debates over values and behavioural norms in various life spheres. Orthodox religious groups maintain their independent school systems. However, the larger Zionist religious sector, which has always been involved in the political mainstream, has merged its schools with the state education system, and supervises them by its independent State Religious Education Council within the Ministry.

The enhancement of mutual understanding between secular and religious Jews might obviously lean on pluralistic training of teachers in the two state school sectors. However, teacher education in the two sectors is separated. Teachers for the state religious sector are trained in their own teacher colleges and seminaries, in specific religious institutes which prepare teachers for religious school subjects, or in the School of Education of the Zionist religious Bar-Ilan University. Their training is aimed at 'religious education in an open society', (Zelkin, 1986). This does not necessarily mean openness to the secular society. It rather symbolizes the alternative worldview of state religious education, which combines religious and secular studies in order to socialize its students toward modern occupational careers joined with religious life patterns, (Ayalon and Yogev, forthcoming).

While this pedagogical ideology enables a certain exposure of the state religious teachers to the secular world, prospects of mutual understanding on the secular side of teacher training are even dimmer. A recent study shows that secular teacher trainees are ignorant in Jewish matters, and strongly prefer their *Israeli* self-identity to Jewish identity (Auron, 1993). The training of teachers in religious school subjects, as well as the actual school teaching of religious courses, have continuously declined in the state sector.

The Ministry's attempts to promote teacher training and school involvement in Jewish tradition within the secular sector have, until now, been only

partially successful. Repeated efforts to launch a 'Jewish consciousness' programme in state schools were met with opposition from both secular and religious circles, with the background of their political and cultural tensions (Iram, 1993). Somewhat more successful, but limited in scope, has been the attempt to establish a network of state schools with an enriched religious-liberal curriculum, sponsored by non-orthodox parent groups (Zisenwein and Goldring, 1992).

Recently, a public commission appointed by the Ministry to examine Jewish studies in state education recommended the development of Jewish cultural programmes. A quarter of the proposed budget for the project is devoted to teacher training — specifically for the development of training programmes and trainee scholarships (Israeli Ministry of Education, 1994b). However, the major motivation of this commission's work, as well as of the previous relevant efforts, has been the enhancement of Jewish identity among secular students. It reflects only indirectly the need to enhance mutual cultural understanding between the secular and religious sectors.

Teacher Education for Arab-Jewish Coexistence

Most Israeli Arabs study in segregated schools. Some of them are private church schools, but the majority belong to the state system and are supervised by a special department within the Ministry. Yet, the cleavage between Arabs and Jews in Israel transcends the cultural realm. It relates to the State's identification of Israeli Arabs as a national minority, to their self-identity as Israeli citizens who are also Palestinian Arabs, to their affinity with the West Bank Palestinians, and to the continuous conflict — and lately the peace process — between Israel, its Arab neighbours, and the Palestinians.

Teacher training for the Arab sector is partly segregated. Trainees for the elementary school level tend to study in the two existing Arab teacher training institutes, but some study in Jewish teacher colleges. Since there is no Arab university, teacher-trainees for Arab secondary schools enrol in the schools of education of Israeli universities. The effects of segregated versus integrated training of Arab teachers are unknown. However, the typical Arab-Israeli teacher has been described as coopted by the Jewish establishment to transmit prescribed curricular knowledge, thus fulfilling the ideal-type role of the teacher as a 'bureaucrat' (Mazawi, 1994). This particular role pattern is enhanced by high unemployment rates among educated Israeli Arabs, which turn the teaching profession into an attractive mobility channel. A reflection of this 'bureaucrat' role may be found in the tendency of school-based teacher education in the Arab sector (as presented in Table 5.1), to concentrate on computer applications rather than on curriculum planning or staff development.

The subordination of Arab teachers, and of the Arab school system in general, coincides with the long-term neglect of this sector by the Ministry. For example, enrichment funds on the basis of school needs, distributed to Jewish schools since the 1960s, have only recently been allotted to the Arab school sector (Yogev and Ayalon, op.cit.).

Putting together the identity problems of Israeli Arabs, the State's neglect of their schools, and their teachers' subordination, it seems that Arab teachers and their schools may be coopted into a pluralistic education programme promoting Arab-Jewish coexistence in Israel, but their enthusiasm about such programmes is doubtful. Concerning the Jewish teachers, there is no official preparation for openness toward Israeli Arabs. Indeed, Arabic is required in the curriculum of Jewish junior high schools, but the teachers themselves admit that it is taught as a formal language with little reference to Arab culture and society (Brosh, 1994).

Though the Ministry has published some instructional material on the topic, the training of teachers and schools for Arab-Jewish coexistence has mainly been left to sporadic efforts of individual schools, voluntary organizations — such as The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and The School for Peace in Neveh Shalom — and interested academic researchers. Many of the experiments conducted since the 1980s involved mutual school visits of Arab and Jewish students and their teachers, and some prolonged contacts through courses and discussion meetings involving mixed groups of teachers or students. Such inter-group meetings relied heavily on the transformation of the 'contact hypothesis' from the Oriental–Ashkenazi scene to Arab–Jewish relations, despite the recognition that such contacts, avoiding the relevant political conflicts for the sake of an intimate social atmosphere, may be problematic in this case (Ben-Ari and Amir, 1988).

Another approach, based on cognitive principles, has emphasized the importance of open discussion of Jewish–Arab relations and of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, in the preparation of teachers and students for coexistence (Ben-Gal and Bar-Tal, 1989; Yogev *et al.*, 1991). This approach, relying on knowledge acquisition as a source of attitudinal change, does not necessarily require direct inter-ethnic contact. However, several courses on this basis have been given since 1985 to mixed groups of Arab and Jewish teachers at the in-service training centre of the School of Education at Tel Aviv University. An evaluation study reveals that participating teachers strengthened their openness toward each other's group, felt they could handle better the subject in their schools, and expected to establish contacts between Arab and Jewish students as part of their future involvement (Nevo and Eisenband, 1985).

The recent peace process between Israel and the Palestinians, despite its ups and downs, has raised the expectations for more structured education toward coexistence of both teachers and students in the Jewish and Arab sectors. A seminar on the topic held by the Israeli Ministry of Education (1994a) in its school for senior teaching staff, revealed its commitment to the topic of education toward peace as well as the hesitations about appropriate methods to approach the issue. In general, teachers and teacher-trainees in the Jewish sector are interested in peace education in school (Pasternak and Zidkiyahu, 1994); but Arab educators insist that the introduction of the topic should be preceded by profound changes in Jewish attitudes toward the identity issue of Israeli Arabs, and toward the Arab school sector in particular, (Al-Haj, 1994; Mar'i, 1994).

Towards a Comprehensive Policy

The above discussion shows that the development of teacher education toward pluralism in Israel is impeded by two types of factors: those related to all four cleavages, and those specific to each of them. In general, the structural segregation of school sectors, and to some extent of teacher training for each sector, impose a crucial constraint on multicultural teacher education. Such segregation seems to pre-empt the potential demand for multicultural training. For instance, the idea of teacher training toward mutual understanding of secular and religious Jews may seem useless in view of the school separation of the two sectors. Another general factor impeding the pluralistic education of teachers has been the academicization of teacher training. It seems that the efforts put into this process have marginalized the social and cultural aspects of teacher education in Israel, on account of the professionalization of their training.

In addition, specific factors related to each of the cleavages have contributed to marginalizing the issue of teacher education toward pluralism. As shown above, the debate over school integration policy among Orientals and Ashkenazim, the 'direct absorption' policy of immigrant students from the former Soviet Republics, the tendency of religious and secular Jews to develop separate cultural identities, and political issues involved with Arab–Jewish coexistence in Israel, have all hindered the development of teacher education relevant to the respective cleavages.

Despite these impediments, teacher education toward pluralism has been put into practice and experience has been accumulated. However, the accumulated practice is more noticeable in relation to certain cleavages — such as those between Orientals and Ashkenazim and between Arabs and Jews — than with respect to the others. It also tends to be sporadic in nature, based in part on initiatives of the Ministry of Education and quite frequently on the involvement of voluntary organizations, individual schools, some teacher training institutes, and academic researchers.

It seems that what is required right now is a comprehensive policy by the Ministry of Education toward teacher training on issues of pluralism and multiculturalism. Such a policy should cut across the various cleavages in order to promote broad multiculturalism, mutual understanding, and the advancement of disadvantaged student groups. The development of such a comprehensive policy across the cleavages could supply some answers to important questions raised by the discussion above. For example, can the contact hypothesis support the training for Jewish–Arab relations after it has been somewhat abandoned within the Jewish school integration policy in favour of training for heterogeneous teaching? And if so, why should contacts between religious and secular Jewish students not be implemented? Should teacher training related to immigrant absorption be part of general teacher education rather than left to particular school decision? How much emphasis in teacher training should be placed upon pluralism in social and cultural aspects of intergroup relations, versus issues related to school advancement of disadvantaged groups?

The adoption of a comprehensive policy on the issue does not necessarily require abolishing present separations among school sectors, which seem to be embedded in the structure of the Israeli education system. However, it requires imposing relevant courses in teacher training institutes controlled by the Ministry, and convincing others — such as academic schools of education — to include such courses in their curriculum. It may also encourage the Ministry to examine some of its own activities relevant to the issue. For instance, each year the Ministry selects a specific 'annual school topic', committing all schools to develop special projects for classroom discussion and student activity. The topic chosen for 1995 was 'The Peace', in accordance with the ongoing political process. The Education Council of State Religious Education within the Ministry has decided on its own annual school topic, 'Student's Dignity', a somewhat obscure topic related to Jewish tradition. Except for the insistence on its ministerial autonomy, there is no good reason why state religious schools could not have also dealt with the peace process, which is relevant to them no less than for the secular school sector.

Finally, it should be realized that the professionalization of teacher education in Israel could be used as an advantage in promoting multicultural training. In several western countries, such as Britain and the United States, recent education policies and school reforms seem to have caused some deprofessionalization of teacher training, (Maguire and Ball, 1995; Labaree, 1995). In contrast, the academicization of the Israeli teaching force and recent reforms increasing school autonomy seem to have strengthened the professionalisation of both pre-service and in-service teacher education. Teacher education toward pluralism could be successfully incorporated into the new professional image of teacher training institutes. The new school-based policy of teacher education could be used to extend multicultural education among practising teachers.

Note

1 In Israel, the term 'veteran students' describes those who were either born in Israel, or belong to previous immigration waves. 'Immigrant students' are those in their first four years of immigration. These terms are used for school budgeting, or other considerations relating to individual students.

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Chapter 6

Unity in Diversity: Teacher Education in Multicultural Malaysia

Molly Lee

The highly diverse society of Malaysia, its economic and political framework, and its concern to balance social cohesion and pluralism in education and teacher preparation are outlined in this chapter.

Malaysia is a multicultural society with an estimated population of 18.2 million in 1995. The racial composition is 55 per cent Malays and other indigenous people, 34 per cent Chinese, 10 per cent Indians, and 1 per cent 'others' (which include Sri Lankans, Eurasians, and other communities) (Ministry of Education, 1986).[1] Malaysia is an ex-British colony which gained its political independence in 1957. During colonial rule, Chinese labour was imported to work in the tin mines, while Indian labour was deployed on the railways and estates. Today, Malaysia has a democratic political system, ruled by a coalition Government under the banner of the National Front which comprises various political parties representing the three major races in the country. The Malaysian Government is very much dominated by the Malay élites, although there are some elements of power-sharing with the minority groups. Malay is the national language and Islam is the official religion of the country.

Malaysia is fast becoming an industrialized economy. While in the past it depended on natural resources like tin, oil, and timber, and agricultural products like rubber, palm oil, and cocoa, Malaysia has now joined the other newly industrializing countries in Asia by expanding its manufacturing and service sectors. Malaysia is aggressively pursuing an export-oriented growth strategy by encouraging foreign investment in its industries. Today, besides raw materials, Malaysia also exports manufactured items like televisions, electronic chips, cars, air-conditioners, and many other products. The gross national product per capita is US$3,406 which ranks sixth in the Asian region, and the economic growth rate has been above 8 per cent for the last six consecutive years (Spaeth, 1995).

Malaysia is a society divided by race, language, religion, culture, and to some extent by occupational and regional differences. During the first ten years of independence, the great disparity of income between the Malays and non-Malays had led to the outbreak of racial riots on May 13, 1969. Since then, the Malaysian Government has pursued various public policies which aim at restructuring the occupational composition of the economy, and to redress the

economic imbalances among the races (Ministry of Education, 1971). Education is often perceived as an instrument to promote national unity, as an agent for social mobility, and as a supplier of human resources for economic growth.

Malaysian Education

The Malaysian education system provides eleven years of basic education to every child in the country. The educational structure is six-three-two; that is, six years of primary education, three years of lower secondary, and two years of upper secondary. For the past three decades, Malaysia has been striving towards universal primary education and the democratization of secondary education. In 1991, the enrolment rates for primary level, lower secondary level, and upper secondary level were 97.92 per cent, 83.43 per cent, and 48.56 per cent, respectively, (Ministry of Education, 1991a). The successful democratization of secondary education has resulted in an increasing demand for post-secondary education in the late 1970s. The 1980s witnessed a rapid expansion of higher education as reflected in the increased number of universities and a proliferation of private colleges. The rapid expansion of higher education is not only a response to rising social demand, but also a response to an expanding economy which demands high-level human resources.

Besides its economic functions, another major goal of the Malaysian educational system is to promote national unity among the diverse races in the country. To achieve this goal and in line with the national language policy, the main medium of instruction in schools is Bahasa Malaysia.[2] Starting in 1970, all the Government-aided English-medium schools were replaced by Malay-medium schools, and by 1982, all national secondary schools and university education were conducted in the national language.[3] However, the minority groups were able to negotiate with the ruling Malay élites for the provision of primary education in Chinese and Tamil. Today, there are Government-funded Malay, Chinese, and Tamil primary schools and parents can choose to send their children to whichever schools they like.[4] Because of the diverse cultures in Malaysia, the State sees the need of a common language to foster social cohesion and racial harmony among the different races; and yet at the same time, there is also a need to accommodate the interests of the minority groups by making primary education available in the children's mother tongues. All the diversities at the primary level are made to converge at the secondary level where the medium of instruction is solely in Malay, and the pupil's own language is taught only as a subject in secondary schools. Besides the use of a common language, the Malaysian schools also have a common curriculum and common public examinations, to ensure some degree of national integration.

Education, especially higher education, is often seen as an avenue for social mobility. The Malaysian Government views access to higher education as a means of redistributing income inequalities among the different ethnic groups, and of eliminating the identification of ethnic communities with certain economic

functions. This has been one of the primary objectives of the New Economic Policy[5] implemented in 1970, which involves providing more educational opportunities to the Bumiputras[6] so that there will be greater Bumiputra participation in the commercial and industrial sectors. To achieve this objective the Malaysian Government implemented the 'racial quota' policy, whereby student admission to public institutions of higher learning and the appointment of academic staffing in these institutions are based on racial quotas in favour of the Bumiputras. Therefore, the issues of access to education and the quality of education have salience in the agenda of the Ministry of Education.

Over the years, much effort and resource has been chanelled to the improvement of the quality of Malaysian education through curriculum reforms and teacher education. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the changing pattern of teacher education in Malaysia, highlighting key issues relating to language policy, regional differences, curriculum, and manpower planning. The focus is on the *preparation of teachers in a multicultural society*. I argue that unlike other educational systems, such as in Great Britain where much emphasis is given to multicultural sensitivities inside the classroom within a broad framework of structural uniformity, the Malaysian educational system stresses national unity in the context of structural diversity. While in many other plural societies the political choice has been cultural pluralism, Malaysia has adopted the political ideology of *cultural hegemony* which places much emphasis on national unity and racial harmony instead of social and cultural diversity.

Patterns of Teacher Education

Teacher education occurs at two levels, with the training of non-graduate teachers in the teacher training colleges and the training of graduate teachers in the universities. There are thirty-one teacher training colleges in the country preparing teachers for both the primary and lower secondary schools. The admission requirement to these training colleges used to be an equivalent O-level (that is, a Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia obtained after eleven years of general education), but now it is slowly being raised to an equivalent A-level (that is, a Sijil Pelajaran Tinggi Malaysia after thirteen years of general education). The training programmes are two and a half years long with a generalist approach for primary school teachers and subject specialization for teachers at the lower secondary level (Ministry of Education, 1991b). Teachers for the primary Chinese and Tamil schools are also trained in these colleges. At one time, such training programmes were offered in designated teacher training colleges. But today, these programmes are spread out in all colleges so that teachers-to-be from various ethnic groups can socialize with one another as they get their training under the same roof.

Graduate teachers for the secondary schools are mostly trained in the universities which offer two types of teacher education programme. One is the consecutive programme where students are required to take a post-graduate

diploma in education after obtaining their first degree. The other is the concurrent programme, which is a four-year programme in which students obtain a BSc (Ed) or BA (Ed) degree. In the concurrent programme the students do their teacher training as undergraduates. Besides these pre-service programmes, some of the local universities also offer BEd programmes which are upgrading programmes for college-trained teachers to become graduate teachers. In-service courses come in two forms; one form is mandatory, offered by the Ministry of Education and in line with particular curriculum reforms. The other kind of in-service course is through the initiative of individual practising teachers, who undertake various kinds of upgrading courses so as to further advance their own careers. Among the upgrading courses for teachers, the most popular ones are postgraduate programmes in various subdisciplines like educational technology, educational administration, and curriculum studies.

Language Policy

Language has always been in the forefront of any racial and ethnic conflicts in multicultural societies, because it is very closely related to cultural identity and economic opportunities (Lee, 1993). In the context of Malaysia, it has been a 'one nation, one language' policy. Bahasa Malaysia became the main medium of instruction in schools starting in 1970, and that meant massive retraining of teachers to be well-versed in the national language. This was carried out progressively throughout the 1970s when all non-Malay speaking teachers were required to attend a six-month Bahasa Malaysia course. With the conversion of English-medium into Malay-medium schools, English is now taught as a second language. As expected, there is a general decline in the standard of English in the country which causes great concern among political leaders and employers in the commercial sector.

The language controversy in Malaysia is fuelled by ethnic conflict, class struggle, and political legitimation of the State. On the one hand, the Malay-dominated State has to take upon itself the protection of the 'special privileges' of the Malays and economic interests of its constituency by implementing the national language policy. On the other hand, the political leaders also realize the importance of English as an international language for trade, and the transfer of scientific knowledge and modern technology as Malaysia strives to become an industrialized nation by the year 2020. This realization has led the Ministry of Education to make concerted efforts in trying to arrest the decline of English in schools. To overcome the shortage of well-qualified English teachers, the Ministry hires teachers from English-speaking countries as well as rehiring retired teachers who used to teach English in schools.

Malaysia is not only facing a shortage of English teachers but also teachers who can teach in Chinese and Tamil to staff the primary vernacular schools. Because of the limited employment opportunities for people who are educated in Chinese and Tamil, not many students are majoring in these two languages.

Besides, the admission requirements for entry into the teacher training colleges require a credit in Bahasa Malaysia on top of four other credits in subjects relevant to the course applied for (Ministry of Education, 1992). Usually, students who obtained good grades in Chinese or Tamil subjects do not do well enough in their Bahasa Malaysia, thus disqualifying them from entry into the training colleges. As a result, there is a dearth of qualified Chinese and Tamil teachers so much so that, at one time, there was a move by the Ministry of Education to appoint non-Chinese educated school heads for the Chinese primary schools. Of course, this brought about strong objections from the Chinese communities who viewed this move as a Government attempt to dilute the Chinese ethos in these vernacular schools. The shortage of Chinese and Tamil teachers has also resulted in the undermining of the teaching of the 'Pupil's Own Language' programme at the secondary level. Today, not many secondary schools offer 'Pupil's Own Language' as a subject due to lack of teachers.

Regional Differences

Another unresolved problem is the shortage of qualified teachers in the rural areas. Most of the trained teachers are reluctant to serve in remote areas; and since the majority of the teaching force are women, many of them would request to be transferred from the rural schools to be with their husbands once they married. As a result, the academic performance of the the rural schools continues to lag behind that of urban schools.

Another regional disparity is between the East Malaysian states (Sabah and Sarawak) and Peninsular Malaysia. Because of the historical background, the educational standard in Sabah and Sarawak is generally lower than that in Peninsular Malaysia, and this problem is further exacerbated by the acute shortage of qualified teachers in these two States. The Ministry of Education has built several teacher training colleges in Sabah and Sarawak with the intention of producing teachers for these states. However, over the years those students who gained entry mostly came from Peninsular Malaysia, the reason being that the local students do not meet the entry requirements of the colleges. Although the Government requires teachers who were trained in these colleges to serve in Sabah and Sarawak for a minimum of five years, they generally do not stay long in their postings before requesting to be transferred back to Peninsular Malaysia. This constant rate of turnover of teachers in Sabah and Sarawak does not help to enhance the quality of schooling in the region. Therefore, the Ministry of Education had introduced financial incentives like regional and housing allowances to encourage teachers from Peninsular Malaysia to teach in Sabah and Sarawak schools. However, this differential treatment between teachers from the East Malaysian states and Peninsular Malaysia in turn causes a lot of dissatisfaction among the Sabahans and Sarawakans who view this policy as a form of internal colonization.

The Teacher Education Curriculum

The Malaysian educational system is highly centralized and school curricula are centrally controlled by the Ministry of Education. Similarly, although all the teacher training colleges are located in the various states throughout the country, they all follow a common curriculum as mandated by the Teacher Education Division in the Ministry. All the colleges offer the two and a half year basic course. However, some colleges are designated to provide certain specialist programmes, such as the training of technical and vocational school teachers at the Technical Teacher Training College; and the training of home science, physical education, and teaching of the blind and deaf teachers in the Specialist Teachers' Training Institute (Ministry of Education, 1991b).

The philosophy of teacher education in Malaysia is very much in line with the national philosophy of education which emphasizes all-round individual development. The end-product of the teacher education system is:

> . . . a teacher who has insights into and seeks to reflect and cultivate the goals and aspirations of the nation, so as to ensure the development of the individual and the preservation of a united, democratic, progressive and disciplined society. (Ministry of Education, 1982, p. 10)

To achieve this broad goal, teacher education programmes are geared towards the professional, academic, and personal development of their students. In view of the overriding educational goal of national unity, it is hoped that teacher education programmes would inculcate such qualities as being 'broad-minded, disciplined, harmonious, adaptable, sociable, and humane' among Malaysian teachers, (Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 1). In a multicultural society, it is paramount that Malaysian teachers should, 'know something of the religious customs, culture and traditions of the various people in the country', (Ministry of Education, 1991b, p. 73). Furthermore, they should be sensitive to the religious and cultural susceptibilities of all Malaysians; and help to break down prejudices and ignorance among their pupils, and foster an understanding and acceptance of different religious and cultural practices.

Trainee teachers in the training colleges are required to take core courses such as 'Islamic religious knowledge' (for Muslim students only), 'Islamic civilization', and 'History of national development', all of which are designed to sensitize them to the sociocultural context of Malaysian society (Ministry of Education, 1992). Besides the formal curriculum, trainees are also expected to develop their character and personality through co-curricular activities which emphasize discipline, orderliness, responsibility and accountability as well as good citizenship, cultural sensitivity and tolerance. From all the above, it can be seen that teacher education programmes are very much controlled by the Federal Government, and that these programmes, among other objectives, are geared towards national integration and racial harmony.

Human Resources Forecasting

Any discussion of teacher education is incomplete without analysing the issue of teacher demand and supply. Like many countries, Malaysia has practised manpower planning with its flaws and unpredictable outcomes. In the 1960s and 1970s there was an acute shortage of science and mathematics teachers, and so resources were channelled in the production of graduate teachers for these subjects. The Government provided many scholarships for students to be trained as science and mathematics teachers through both the consecutive and concurrent programmes. Many teacher educators favour the concurrent programme, not only because students commit themselves to the education programme early when they start their undergraduate study, but also because teacher educators have four years to train them. Manpower planners seem to prefer the consecutive 'Diploma in education programme' because it is much easier to turn on and off the tap of teacher supply depending on what the needs are. The 1980s saw an oversupply of science and mathematics graduate teachers and a shortage of teachers in the arts subjects, and in the 1990s we have swung back to the production of science and mathematics teachers.

To a large extent, teacher educators have to compete with the other sectors of the economy for skilled human resources. When there is an economic boom in the country and jobs for graduates are plentiful, it is very difficult to attract students for the consecutive teacher education programme. That is also one of the reasons why teacher educators designed the four-year concurrent programme, so that they can recruit students at the beginning of their university careers to be trained as teachers. But when the country experienced an economic recession as in the mid-1980s, many university graduates were not able to find employment and so they had to be retrained to become graduate teachers as there is always a continuous demand for teachers in the Malaysian school system. In such a situation, the consecutive teacher education programme becomes very popular. Even some of the teacher training colleges started to offer such programmes under the name of the 'Post-graduate Teacher Education Programme' (commonly known as KPLI, the local acronym) in 1989, which was originally aimed at retooling unemployed graduates to become secondary school teachers (Ministry of Education, 1991b). Today, Malaysia is undergoing another economic boom, and teacher education institutions are again experiencing difficulties in recruiting high calibre students to be trained as teachers. This problem is even more acute in terms of recruiting male students, so much so that the Malaysian Government is having to think of ways and means to make the teaching profession more attractive to men.

Discussion

Educational policies are shaped by the socio-economic and political forces in the wider society, especially so in a plural society. There is also a widespread belief that education does play a significant role in bringing about social change,

economic growth, political development, and cultural transmission through human resource development. Governments in pluralistic societies tend to see education as an important means of promoting national unity among the culturally diverse groups within the country. Different governments can pursue different kinds of policies, ranging from:

> . . . *assimilation* of minority groups into the values and social norms of the majority or host group, through *integration* of different groups until the divisive aspects of each have been whittled away and a new allegiance of culture has been created, to *cultural pluralism* which recognises the cultural and social diversity of the different ethnic groups but which seeks to create a political and economic unity from them. (Watson, 1980, p. 145)

The political choice is between *cultural hegemony* and *cultural pluralism*. Malaysia is pursuing a policy of integration, with the Malay culture as the dominant culture. However, the minority groups do have the political clout to negotiate for the provision of primary education in Chinese and Tamil. Although there is structural diversity in the national educational system, what goes on in school is tightly controlled by the central Government. Moreover, all government-funded secondary schools and public institutions of higher learning are conducted in the Malay language, and they all follow a common curriculum and public examination system. The highly centralized administrative structure also extends to teacher training institutions where the teacher education curriculum is centrally controlled. In sum, Malaysia has made a choice in favour of *cultural hegemony* and this political ideology has influenced many of the current education policies in the country.

In contrast, there are other diverse societies which pursue a policy of *cultural pluralism* such as Great Britain, Canada, and Belgium. In such cases, the educational systems are more decentralized. Educational decisionmaking takes place at the lowest possible unit within a larger administrative and political framework. These countries are said to practise 'subsidiarity', which can affect the school curricula and teacher education programmes dramatically (Cowen, 1993). For example, in Great Britain some of the minority groups do not have the political power to challenge the dominant group for the provision of different types of education to suit their cultural needs. A case in point is the rejection by the British Government to open a Muslim school funded on public money, as requested by the Muslim parents in the early 1990s. However, there is considerable subsidiarity for Scottish and Northern Irish education where the minority groups do have the political power to formulate their own educational policies. In the British context, the multicultural approach in teacher education is reflected in two broad objectives, 'First, preparing students to cope effectively with the particular needs of minority group children; and second, to help student teachers to acquaint all the children in their future classes with the realities of a culturally plural society' (Craft, 1990, p. 144).

The above discussion shows that education is a contested terrain for different ethnic groups in a multicultural society. There are often competing pressures for social diversity and for social cohesion. A noticeable difference between Malaysia and Great Britain is that while in Great Britain there is greater space for curriculum variations inside the classroom within a broad uniform structural framework, in Malaysia what is being taught in schools is tightly controlled, even though there is structural diversity within the national educational system. As pointed out by Craft (op.cit.), when does acculturation necessary for full participation in society becomes repressive assimilation, especially in a culturally hegemonic society; and when does the celebration of cultural diversity cease to enrich and become a source of social instability, especially in a society which values cultural pluralism? There is no straightforward answer. Ethnic policies and educational policies vary from country to country, depending on the balance of group interests in the political arena.

Notes

1 Other indigenous people include the Orang Asli in Peninsular Malaysia; the Kadazandusuns, Muruts, Bajaus and other tribes in Sabah; and the Dayaks, Ibans, Penans, and others in Sarawak.
2 Bahasa Malaysia is the official name for the Malay language.
3 See Mauzy (1985) and Tan C.B. (1988) for a more detailed description of the progressive implementation of the national language policy in the Malaysian educational system.
4 For an analysis of the politics of language policies in Malaysia, see Lee (1993) and Haris (1990).
5 For more information on the New Economic Policy, see Jomo (1990) and Milne (1976).
6 Bumiputra means 'native of the soil'. This term is used to mean the Malays and other indigenous tribes such as Kadazandusuns and Dayaks. The Bumiputras enjoy the 'special privileges' as enshrined in the Malaysian Constitution.

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Chapter 7

Teacher Training and Community Relations in Northern Ireland

Seán Fulton and Anthony Gallagher

This chapter offers a review of educational policies which have sought to support constructive community relations in the plural society of Northern Ireland, and outlines the vital role of teacher education.

Since 1969, many people in Northern Ireland have looked to the schools for a significant contribution to an improvement in community relations. This is seen as one of way of ameliorating the conflict in which, since 1969, almost 3,200 people have died and over ten times that number have been injured. In this chapter, we will discuss some of the strategies and initiatives that have been tried over the years and consider the contribution made by teacher training towards these efforts. We begin by outlining briefly relevant aspects of the education system in Northern Ireland, and describing some of the general strategies through which educationalists have addressed issues related to the conflict. Following this we move on to discuss the particular context of teacher training in Northern Ireland.

A key feature of the education system in the Province lies in the predominance of religious segregation. Currently there are about 460 Catholic primary schools and 490 Protestant primary schools. At the post-primary level, where a selective system based on tests taken by 11-year-old pupils is largely retained, there are seventy-nine Catholic secondary and thirty Catholic grammar schools, and seventy-six Protestant secondary and forty Protestant grammar schools. The religious nomenclature of the schools reflects a *de facto* rather than a *de jure* position, and is based on the high degree of religious homogeneity of the pupils and teachers within the separate school systems. It is believed, for example, that about 4 per cent of Catholic pupils attend non-Catholic grammar schools. Since 1980 a number of integrated schools, catering for both Protestant and Catholic pupils, have developed, although as yet they account for only about 2 per cent of the total pupil enrolment in Northern Ireland.

Schools and Social Division

In the early years of the conflict a number of commentators attached some responsibility for social breakdown to religiously segregated schooling, and

argued for the development of integrated schools. Fraser (1973) argued that integrated schools would be 'the most potent single factor in breaking down community barriers and in restoring long-term peace'; while Heskin (1980) suggested that integrated education would reinforce the 'silent majority' who favoured reconciliation, and 'seriously weaken the foundations of the attitudes held by the most bigoted and hostile sections of Northern Irish society'. It has to be said that these views, which are often strongly held, tend to be based, at least partly, on a simplistic translation of research evidence and practice in the United States, rather than a more detailed assessment of the nature of social factors in Northern Ireland. In the USA, the key arguments for desegregation were centred round the idea of equality. In Northern Ireland, by contrast, the primary arguments for integration are social.

Since these early debates, views on the role of segregated schools in Northern Ireland have been based on two main hypotheses. The *cultural hypothesis* suggests that segregated schools enhance community divisions by introducing pupils to differing, and potentially opposing, cultural environments. This view emphasizes differences in the curriculum of the separate school systems. The *social hypothesis* suggests that, regardless of what is taught in schools, segregated schooling initiates pupils into conflict by emphasizing and validating group differences and hostilities, encouraging mutual ignorance and, perhaps more important, mutual suspicion. This view emphasizes the impact of segregation *per se*. There is, of course, a third view that religious segregation of schools is irrelevant to the conflict. The available research evidence does not allow definitive conclusions to be drawn and, in any case, a fully integrated system is unlikely to be implemented in the foreseeable future.

It is possible to discern three broad intervention strategies that have been followed over the years. The first involves curricular initiatives within the existing segregated schools. This was the approach adopted by some of the earliest intervention programmes, including the *Schools Community Relations Project* (1970) and the *Schools Cultural Studies Project* (1974), and it was encouraged by the Department of Education Northern Ireland (DENI) in 1982 (Gallagher, 1990). In the following year, the *Education for Mutual Understanding* (EMU) programme was initiated. This programme encouraged schools, on a voluntary basis, to introduce themes related to community relations into their curriculum.

The second broad strategy also worked within the context of segregated schools, and sought to encourage contact programmes between pupils in Protestant and Catholic schools. In the early years these contact programmes faced problems because of their *ad hoc* and often transient character. In an attempt to overcome some of these problems, the *Inter School Links* project was established in 1986. The project established a contact programme between a number of Protestant and Catholic schools in a medium-sized town in Northern Ireland. The aim was to do this in a way that both integrated the contact work into the normal day-to-day activity of the schools, and made it independent of any specific individuals (Dunn and Smith, 1989; Smith and Dunn, 1990).

The third strategy sought to develop integrated schools to serve both Protestant and Catholic pupils. An Act of Parliament in 1978 provided a basis for

existing Protestant schools under state management to change status to integrated schools. In part because of the failure of schools to follow this option, a group of parents opened Lagan College in 1981, the first planned integrated school in Northern Ireland. Following the success of Lagan College, other groups of parents came together to open planned integrated schools with the medium-term goal of having at least one primary and post-primary school in each of Northern Ireland's twenty-six District Council areas. These new schools are referred to as planned integrated schools as they consciously attempt to maintain a religious balance among their pupil enrolments and teacher workforce, and seek to reflect both cultural traditions in their curriculum (Moffatt, 1993).

There was a great deal of overlap between these strategies. In particular there were close links between work on EMU and the contact schemes. It was clear, too, that official support for some of these initiatives was strengthened in the following ways: guidance material on EMU was produced and circulated to schools; the *Cross Community Contact Scheme* was initiated by the DENI in 1987 to provide funds for schools that wished to engage in contact programmes; some of the Education and Library Boards, the Northern Ireland equivalent of Local Education Authorities, appointed EMU field officers to support the work of teachers; and a variety of new agencies were opened, funded by government and charitable trusts, to provide support and advice to teachers.

The community relations dimension to education was strengthened still further by the *Education Reform Order* (1989), the Northern Ireland version of the British 1988 *Education Reform Act*. In broad terms, the ERO was closely modelled on the provisions of ERA in that it introduced a common curriculum for all schools, devolved greater managerial and financial powers to schools, and accorded a higher degree of choice to parents. However, the Northern Ireland reform measures were strongly influenced by community relations concerns. For the first time, government took on the formal responsibility of supporting new initiatives towards the development of planned integrated schools. As part of this commitment, the ERO created a procedure whereby the parents of pupils in existing Protestant or Catholic schools could vote to change the school to integrated status.

Alongside these measures on integrated schools, and in recognition of the likelihood that most pupils would continue to be educated in *de facto* segregated schools, the ERO required that EMU and *Cultural Heritage* would become compulsory cross-curricular themes in the Northern Ireland common curriculum. In other words, all schools in Northern Ireland would be required to reflect community relations themes in their curriculum. Under the themes of EMU and *Cultural Heritage*, schools would be encouraged, but not required, to engage in contact programmes (Gallagher, 1995a).

Teacher Training

Currently teachers are trained in four institutions in Northern Ireland: the Queen's University of Belfast and the University of Ulster, and the two colleges

Table 7.1: Students in teacher training, 1959–89

Year	Total Number	Stranmillis (per cent)	St Josephs/ St Marys (per cent)	Other (per cent)
1959	1,537	70	30	—
1969	2,726	43	33	24
1979	2,656	31	27	43
1989	1,820	39	39	22
1993	1,969	35	34	31

Source: Derived from statistical reports published by the DENI

Table 7.2: Newly qualified teachers

Year	Total Number	Stranmillis (per cent)	St Joseph's/ St Mary's (per cent)	Other (per cent)
1986	590	29	30	41
1988	638	33	30	37
1990	663	33	32	35
1991	653	28	28	44
1992	748	26	26	47
1993	770	26	24	49

Source: Derived from annual reports of the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Research

of education, Stranmillis College and St Mary's College. As with the primary and post-primary education systems, the colleges are *de facto* religiously segregated, with Stranmillis College taking mainly Protestant students and St Mary's College taking mainly Catholic students.

Until the early 1980s two Catholic colleges of education existed, St Joseph's for men and St Mary's for women. A decline in the number of students prompted the recommendation that all three colleges, St Joseph's, St Mary's and Stranmillis, amalgamate on a single site (Chilver Report, 1980), a proposal that was successfully resisted by the Catholic Church. A survey among the students who entered the colleges in 1979 indicated that this proposal had virtually no support in St Mary's and St Joseph's, and only minority support in Stranmillis (Cormack *et al.*, 1984). However, it was agreed to amalgamate St Joseph's and St Mary's.

Table 7.1 provides a picture of the total number of full-time students in teacher training. Numbers in training steadily increased until the mid-1970s, from which time there was a steady decline followed by a small increase again in the 1990s. Table 7.1 indicates also that the location of the students has changed over time. In the period of growth there was a decline in the proportion training in Stranmillis, largely explained by the increasing numbers trained in universities. Conversely, in the period when the total numbers in training declined it would seem that this had its biggest impact on the universities. This general pattern is evident also in the contemporary data.

A slightly different picture is provided by Table 7.2 which gives the number and proportions of newly qualified teachers by institution. This data suggests

that about half of the current newly qualified teachers have trained in religiously mixed institutions. The difference between the two patterns is explained by the relatively greater proportion of university-trained teachers taking one-year PGCE courses.

Teaching and Employment

The teaching profession has been important for Catholics in Northern Ireland, not least as an area of employment. The 1981 Census indicated that while Catholics comprised 28 per cent of the employed population (all these Census figures exclude those who did not state their religion), they comprised 36 per cent of those employed in education. More specifically, the proportion of teachers who were Catholics was 43 per cent of men and 39 per cent of women. This pattern was found also in the 1991 Census: among men, Catholics comprised 53 per cent of secondary school teachers and 62 per cent of primary school teachers, while for women the figures were 49 per cent and 46 per cent respectively. All these figures are markedly above the figure for the Catholic proportion of the employed population where, among men, Catholics comprised 36 per cent of the employed population, while among women they comprised 37 per cent of the employed population.

This data is significant as it highlights one important argument historically for the existence of a separate Catholic school system. Many Catholics in Northern Ireland believed that they faced discrimination in private and public sector employment (Gallagher, 1995b). In that context, the separate Catholic school system was one of the few institutions controlled by the minority community in Northern Ireland and within which they could gain high status employment (Gallagher, Osborne and Cormack, 1994).

Teachers' Attitudes

A variety of surveys have examined attitudinal differences among teachers in Catholic and Protestant schools. For example, Wilson and Spelman (1977) carried out a survey of teachers' attitudes to the reorganization of secondary education. They found that teachers in Protestant schools were less critical of selection at 11, more concerned with co-education and religious integration and attached greater importance to academic excellence as a primary objective in secondary education compared with their colleagues in Catholic schools. A further report from this study (Wilson, 1977) suggested that while teachers in Catholic schools may have had considerable reservations about the religious integration of post-primary schools, they shared with their Protestant colleagues a moderate approval of religious integration at the sixth form stage.

Darby *et al.* (1977) interviewed teachers and principals on their perceptions of the two school systems and their views on segregated and integrated education. They found 'considerable ignorance' among teachers on the day-to-day

operations of schools outside their own category, largely due to a lack of first-hand experience in these schools (see also Murray, 1983; 1985). Despite this, there were discernibly different patterns in the perceptions held about the values or prejudices encouraged in the other group of schools. Thus, teachers from Protestant schools decried the clerical influence in Catholic schools, while teachers from Catholic schools described Protestant schools as 'cold, rigid and more academic'.

Sutherland and Gallagher (1986), in a survey of primary principals and teachers, found that respondents from Catholic schools were the most vehemently opposed to selection at age eleven, the vast majority favouring a delay of between one and three years.

Darby *et al.* (1977) also pointed out that while both sets of teachers agreed that segregated schools were socially divisive, teachers from Catholic schools were less convinced that the divisive effects were serious. Allied to this was a more lukewarm attitude among the teachers of Catholic schools towards integrated schooling, both because they felt it would require the Catholic schools to give up more, and that their job prospects would suffer in a society in which they believed sectarian considerations played an important role in recruitment for employment.

McKernan (1982) reported that teachers in Catholic schools were more likely to have controversial issues arising in the classroom, and were more willing to handle them when they arose compared with teachers from Protestant schools. In addition, more of the teachers in Catholic schools agreed that schools had a responsibility to include controversial issues in the curriculum. On a designated list of thirty-five 'controversial issues' Catholic teachers, overall, indicated a greater willingness to deal with them. Interestingly, the only individual item in which there was no significant difference in the teachers' expressed willingness to discuss in the classroom was that of integrated education. The teachers in this survey indicated the constraints on handling controversial issues and, for both Catholic and Protestant teachers, 'lack of knowledge or skills' and the 'teacher's own prejudices' formed the highest ranked constraints. Catholic teachers ranked the 'teacher's personal identity' and the 'disapproval of Church' more highly that Protestant teachers, while Protestant teachers ranked the 'disapproval of fellow teachers' higher than Catholic teachers.

McEwen and Fulton (1983) reported a survey of teachers on the theory and practice of teaching, and found a high level of agreement between teachers in Protestant and Catholic schools. On only three of the eighteen items asked did teachers from Catholic and Protestant schools differ, and all the differences were in the expressed strength of opinion rather than in agreement or disagreement *per se*.

Teacher Training and Community Relations

Thus far, we have outlined the context of policy for the promotion of community relations within schools, and the institutional arrangements for teacher

training, and we have examined some evidence on the importance of teaching as an occupation and on teachers' attitudes. It is perhaps noteworthy that most of the attitudinal data comes from the period before the strong policy framework in regard to community relations was put in place. In this section we examine how community relations issues are addressed within pre-service and in-service teacher training.

In pre-service training, a range of strategies are used by the four provider institutions. Firstly, what training is provided for students on the cross curricular themes of EMU and *Cultural Heritage*? In practice a range of strategies have evolved. One strategy is to deal with related themes within the specific subject areas. Given the particular dimensions of the conflict in Northern Ireland, the contribution of specific subject areas like Religious Education and History provide obvious examples (Greer, 1972; 1978; 1980; 1983; Magee, 1970; Austin, 1985). However, opportunities are available in other areas such as English and science. In English Taylor (1992), for example, has argued that:

> Good practice in English teaching has always dealt with human values, with tolerance and mutual understanding, with the sharing of an inherited culture and the desire to add to the sum of human achievement in the arts and ideas. (Taylor, 1992)

Taylor (1992) went on to describe work by English PGCE students using literature to explore aspects of social division and diversity in Northern Ireland. In Science, Garvin and O'Rawe (1993) have written about Irish scientists as a contribution to the common cultural heritage of people on this island.

A second strategy is to incorporate special lectures, seminars or tutorials for students on EMU and *Cultural Heritage* themes. The third strategy is to provide special courses or modules that address EMU and '*Cultural Heritage*' themes in greater depth. In practice it would appear that the one-year PGCE courses offered by the two universities are more likely to use the first two approaches, while the greater time available on the undergraduate programmes of the University of Ulster and the colleges of education permits the use of the third strategy.

Apart from the overt curriculum, what of the hidden curriculum? As we have seen above, two of the four training providers in Northern Ireland are *de facto* religiously segregated. They have organized a significant programme of contact activities between their students. This mirrors the recommended use of contact programmes within EMU in schools. A liaison group has been established for the organization and coordination of joint work between the colleges, which includes exchange visits between students and joint conferences. For final year students in both colleges, a scheme was established to encourage joint school experience work as part of their teaching practice. In addition, both colleges are involved in wider contact schemes with other colleges in the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain. As part of this work, teacher-trainees from the colleges have been involved in joint programmes in the United States and Denmark.

As far as in-service training is concerned, there are two main providers, the Queen's University and the University of Ulster, although they also validate courses offered by other providers such as the colleges of education and Education and Library Boards. Both provide modules concerned with EMU-related themes as part of their in-service programmes. The University of Ulster offers an EMU module as part of its Post-graduate Diploma in Education. An interesting aspect of this course lies in its use of video-conferencing, as the course is delivered simultaneously on three of the four sites of the University of Ulster (Dallat *et al.*, 1992; Robinson, 1993). For the past four years, the Queen's University offered a special DENI-funded course on EMU and *Cultural Heritage* aimed at EMU coordinators within schools. In addition, Queen's offers an EMU module as part of its Diploma in Advanced Studies in Education (DASE), and a more general comparative module entitled 'Education in divided societies' as part of its MEd programme. Apart from these specific courses, issues related to EMU and '*Cultural Heritage*' are examined within DASE and MEd courses on educational management, curriculum and social issues in education.

Although it is not related directly to the particular concerns of this chapter, it is worth noting that a great deal of educational research has been and is being carried out within Northern Ireland. This research, which often has a developmental as well as evaluative character, has addressed a wide range of issues related to EMU and '*Cultural Heritage*' and the results normally feedback into training courses (Gallagher, 1994).

The Current Situation

Thus far, we have described the broad context of education in Northern Ireland, the way in which community relations policy has developed within that context, and some of the ways this is addressed within teacher training. We will now examine the limited evidence available on the consequences of policy, and in so doing offer come critical observations on current practice. Most of the empirical evidence that exists has focused on the situation within schools, with the main source of evidence being an ongoing evaluation project on the implementation of EMU being carried out by the Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster (Smith and Robinson, 1992). In addition, we draw upon anecdotal evidence based on conversations with teachers. As indicated below, however, the emergent themes from this evidence can be seen to echo concerns within teacher training.

The first main report from the EMU evaluation project concentrated on the perceptions of EMU among those with administrative, advisory or funding responsibilities within the educational system, and it suggested that multiple interpretations of EMU existed, in large part influenced by the biographies and personal backgrounds of the interviewees. While this may be taken to reflect the diverse possibilities inherent in the policy, it leaves open the danger that the 'cutting edge' of the initiative may be lost as people focus on its less

controversial and 'safe' aspects. It has been well established, for example, that a 'social grammar' exists in Northern Ireland, such that people tend to avoid talking about the issues of religion and politics in (religiously) mixed company (Gallagher, 1989). While broaching these issues can be considered impolite, this unwritten social rule means that people can engage in cross-community contact, while remaining largely ignorant of the views of members of the 'other' community on the fundamental social divisions that exist within our society.

This has significance for the contact programmes operated by schools and the colleges of education, as it is possible that such programmes may, in fact, only serve to reproduce the 'normal' type of contact that exists within the wider Northern Irish society. An unwillingness to be 'impolite' can lead participants in contact programmes to skirt around the difficult issue of social division in Northern Ireland, and thus fail to gain the maximum potential benefit from the contact experience. If this is perceived as a problem in schools and the colleges of education, it could be a bigger problem for the two universities. As they are religiously integrated there may be a belief that nothing more needs to be done to encourage discussion of community relations themes. In fact, there is evidence that the social grammar of polite conversation has led to a culture of silence and avoidance among academics (Goldring, 1991). For the present purposes, the extent of the culture of silence is less important than the fact that it can occur. This implies that the colleges need to concentrate on the nature of their contact programmes, while the universities need to provide opportunities for student teachers to address these issues explicitly.

Anecdotal evidence gained from informal conversations with teachers provide some insight into the constraints and possibilities of community relations work in schools and, while the evidence must necessarily be viewed as tentative, there are a number of general emergent themes which can be seen to have relevance for the training providers. It seems clear that for many teachers, EMU and contact work are viewed as synonymous; whereas in the official policy the latter is defined as an optional, if encouraged, aspect of the former (see also Smith and Robinson, 1992). This view seems to be linked to the fact that money is available for contact work, and many schools view contact programmes as opportunities for additional extra-curricular activities. The danger, of course, is that curricular aspects of EMU within schools could be diminished.

All schools in Northern Ireland are meant to have a written EMU policy, have a member of their Board of Governors assigned specific responsibility for EMU, and include in their annual written report to parents an account of EMU work. While all, or nearly all, schools will meet these statutory requirements, they appear to do so with varying levels of enthusiasm and commitment. In a situation where the administrative authorities in a school display little evident enthusiasm for EMU, there is hardly any incentive or encouragement for teachers to devote much energy to the issue. Of course, it is also true that where the Principal and Board of Governors of a school are supportive of EMU then this can have an energizing effect on teachers.

In part, the situation described above can be explained by the reticence

towards community relations issues in normal everyday discourse in Northern Ireland; that is, sometimes people are reluctant to engage with issues they are used to avoiding. However, schools in Northern Ireland, like schools in Britain, have gone through substantial changes in recent years as a consequence of educational reforms. In some cases this appears to have worked to reduce the priority attached to EMU, if only because energy is concentrated on those aspects of the curriculum that are subject to assessment and/or external scrutiny. It seems clear that in some schools, EMU, whether by choice or circumstance, sits low on the pecking order.

If the priority attached to EMU and *Cultural Heritage* within schools by senior managers influences the way it is viewed further down the hierarchy, so too might we expect this process to operate within the training institutions. As in the schools, teacher training has undergone much change in recent years as staff keep in touch with changes consequent on the education reforms. The Northern Ireland teacher training institutions are about to go through the major changes that have already been implemented in Britain, with an increase in the time spent by students on teaching experience, and a transfer of funds from providers to schools to cover the costs of the school-based elements, including mentoring. With so many changes going on in the system, the space for reflection on the cross-curricular themes diminishes.

In addition, the very fact of cross-curricularity creates its own problems. The Northern Ireland common curriculum is perhaps at an advantage in comparison with the situation in Britain, in that the cross-curricular themes are statutory and are probably better embedded in schools than is the case in Britain. The primary advantage of a cross-curricular theme is that it should inform all aspects of the curriculum and pervade all aspects of school life. The danger is that, being a small part of nearly everything, it becomes marginalized, or worse, neglected completely. This danger is evident in schools, and so too might we expect to see it in the training institutions. When the themes address community relations issues in a cultural context where avoidance is often adopted as the safe strategy, this danger is even more evident.

These conclusions represent a realistic rather than a negative assessment. It should also be remembered that information, expertise and advice is available to teachers from outside the training institutions. One consequence of government money being directed towards community relations work in recent years is that a host of organizations now exist to provide support and expertise for EMU work in schools. A number of local museums produce curriculum resources to support EMU work and some have residential facilities. At least twenty-eight other non-statutory organizations produce materials, including videos, games, books, pamphlets and worksheets, on EMU-related themes, while the Education and Library Boards, and both Northern Ireland universities, run training courses on aspects of EMU and *Cultural Heritage*. Over time, a considerable body of expertise has developed from which teachers and schools can draw. It would probably be true to say that some of these resources and support would have been available even without an overarching government policy on community

relations initiatives in schools. It is equally true to say, however, that the large amount of support available has been enhanced by the wide policy consensus and the underpinning support of public money. A key role which the training institutions can play is to ensure that prospective teachers are aware of these opportunities and support.

Conclusion

Any assessment of the current situation in schools in Northern Ireland should be set in the context of how much has changed over the past twenty-five years. In the 1960s, it is clear that segregation in education was not just administrative but also psychological. In some areas of the curriculum pupils were initiated into different, competing and often contradictory traditions, and exposed to widely divergent world views. There is now much greater awareness of the need to ensure that all pupils have an opportunity to acquire an understanding of, and a sympathy with, the values of the other tradition as well as their own.

Right up to the early 1980s, it is equally clear that there was little contact between pupils or teachers in Protestant and Catholic schools (Dunn *et al.*, 1984). Currently about a third of primary schools and a half of post-primary schools are involved in contact schemes, and the community relations issue is on the agenda of all schools because of the statutory requirements of the common curriculum. An extensive network of materials, facilities and expertise exists for schools to draw upon, and a significant amount of public money is available to support community relations work within and between schools. While there is more to be done before it can be confidently claimed that schools are making their maximum contribution to the improvement of community relations in Northern Ireland, it is nevertheless clear that, in the past ten years or so, a significant step forward has been taken. At the time of writing, perhaps the greatest advantage is the fact that, after twenty-five years of conflict, we have just completed our ninth month of peace. There can be no greater incentive for continuing our efforts to build better community relations through our schools.

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Chapter 8

Teacher Education and Pluralism in South Africa[1]

Wally Morrow

This analysis of educational needs in the pluralism of the new South Africa highlights the promotion of social cohesion as a major role for teacher educators, and presents a distinctive perspective.

In South Africa public debate about multiculturalism and multicultural education has not been very prominent. This might be thought to be an anomaly. South Africa is, after all, a 'plural society' with a vengeance; a 'rainbow people' in the process of escaping the dark clouds of its history.[2] South Africa comprises a breathtaking diversity of more or less recently imported cultures, almost a complete range of racial groups, eleven official languages and very high discrepancies between rich and poor. How might we explain the apparent anomaly that in this diverse society multiculturalism has not (yet, perhaps) become a major issue for debate? Here is a possible explanation.

Apartheid and the Politics of Difference

Almost a century ago a religious, linguistic and cultural minority group, the Boers, with little economic power, at the 'far end' of Africa, fought a second bitter war against what was still at that time the major imperial power. They lost the war, and then, as the victors began to 'reconstruct' the country along 'civilized lines', were faced with the prospect of losing what was most precious and sacred to them, their cultural identity. They were being marginalized in what they saw as their 'own' country, and their very survival as a distinct cultural group was under threat. Struggle on the cultural plane was not new to them, and they took up that struggle again, in a condition of considerable poverty. For example, to prevent their children from being homogenized into the alien culture provided in the state schools, they tried to establish their own community schools employing teachers who shared their religious convictions.

They adopted what we might now call a politics of difference, demanding recognition of, and respect for, their cultural distinctness.

The settlement of 1910 was classically colonial, providing only restricted rights and representation to the majority of the population, and recognizing only two 'official languages' — Dutch and English. But the language spoken by the minority who had fought the war ten years previously was not Dutch, but a version of Dutch which had been modified by isolation and dynamic interaction with other languages. This spoken language was sometimes referred to, demeaningly, as 'Kitchen Dutch', but the people themselves called it 'Afrikaans', and called themselves 'Afrikaners'. In 1926, Afrikaans replaced Dutch as one of the 'official' languages of the country.

But this victory, important as it was, was only a symptom of a much deeper struggle; the struggle for cultural security and permanent cultural survival. The 'Great Depression' of the early 1930s rubbed salt into the wounds, and the decade of the 1930s was a period of intense cultural and political mobilization, not uninfluenced by the rising tide of racialism and nationalism in Germany. Some of the greatest Afrikaner sons who had been prominent in the political life of the country, and even influential on the international stage, came to be seen as having betrayed the struggle by becoming co-opted into the alien culture.

Against the tide of political expectations, the party of the Afrikaners (the National Party) won the general election of 1948, and had rapidly to put a government together. Within a few years the policy of Apartheid was being systematically implemented. In 1953, the first of the Acts definitively to segregate the schooling system was passed, the notorious *Bantu Education Act*. Bantu education was, at least in the rhetoric with which it was introduced, intended to establish a 'culturally sensitive' form of schooling for those classified as 'African', and subsequent Acts established similarly culturally targeted schooling for the distinct cultural groupings which were to be formally recognized in both the intimate and the public life of the society. Amongst other things, schools for 'Whites', some of which were previously 'dual' or 'parallel' medium (Afrikaans and English), now became single medium. Other parts of the education system, especially teacher training colleges and universities, were also segregated along the perceived lines of cultural differentiation, with language as a key marker. Teacher education, a decisive site of cultural generation, was conceived of as monocultural, the only morally justifiable way to give proper recognition and respect to 'obvious' cultural differences.

Intellectual defenders of Apartheid denied that its intention was to dominate.[3] They understood it as the alternative to an assimilationist policy of blandly ignoring cultural differences in the public sphere and, thereby, subtly undermining their chances of survival. Apartheid was defended as a formal, culturally neutral, framework within which the cultures of the major sectors of the society would be accorded political recognition, and each would have the opportunity to flourish and develop according to its own distinct and cherished traditions and deeply-held convictions, undistorted by a hegemonic culture.

Such a stance is quite understandable once we grant the premise that the deepest source of one's identity is one's culture, vulnerable in a world of hegemonic cultures, and deserving of, and even needing, recognition and respect from others. Refusing such respect can inflict grievous damage on those who are denied it (as Afrikaners had themselves experienced), and is itself a form of oppression.

And what could be a locus of more crucial cultural significance in these respects than schools, and the teachers who teach in them. Schools stand at a major intersection between the intimate and the public spheres; school teachers are public officials in the business of contributing to the development of the intimate self-interpretations of learners. The segregated systems of schooling, and teacher education, which were a key dimension of Apartheid, can, or so it was claimed by its defenders, be seen as a serious attempt to give respectful, and equal, recognition to the distinctive cultural aspirations of the major different cultural groups which constituted the society.

The Politics of Equal Dignity

Apartheid was seen as an evil both by the world at large and by those who suffered its ruthless implementation, supported by others who, if they did not directly suffer, thought they understood that suffering. The intellectuals who had defended Apartheid were seen as deceiving apologists for a manifestly and insufferably unjust policy. The intellectual defence of Apartheid, in terms of not only protecting cultural identity but providing social and political space and even encouragement for its continued survival and development, was seen as merely epiphenomenal, or as an ideological mask for a vicious system of racial and economic oppression and exploitation.

Apartheid came to be seen by both its local and international critics as an affront to human dignity, the very institutionalization of inequality, and the virulent tail end of colonialism. A key weapon of colonialism was the imposition on the colonized of an image of their culture dreamed up by the colonizers, an image constructed around the presumption of inferiority. The colonized tend to internalize this image and develop a crippling form of self-hatred which deeply undermines their capacity to oppose their subordination; they become complicit agents of their own oppression.[4] And their embranglement is even more insidious if it is obscured by the rhetoric of cultural respect, as it was by Apartheid.

One response to Apartheid was the brief flourishing, with Biko as its boldest and most effective spokesperson, of a local Black Consciousness Movement, with its emphasis on undermining the images of inferiority projected by the dominating powers and replacing it with a self-confidence founded in deeper traditions. In effect this is to propose that a way out of oppression is for the oppressed themselves to recover respect for their own culture, to use the politics of difference against the dominant powers. Its thrust was on finding a cure for the psychological damage wreaked by colonialism and Apartheid, and perhaps

there are some traces of this same thrust in some contemporary calls for white teachers to be removed from their teaching posts in black township schools. Whatever their good intentions, Whites can never really comprehend black culture.

Although to my knowledge the local Black Consciousness Movement did not express itself on the issue of teacher education, it has fairly clear implications for what an appropriate kind of teacher education would be; it would be one in which prospective teachers would need to come to see the restoration of the self-esteem of the oppressed as their guiding professional ideal. Such a view is in harmony with some of the thinking of Paulo Freire; it would recommend that teachers should understand that a definitive feature of their responsibility as teachers is to restore to the oppressed a sense of their own historical agency.[5] This would be to line up teacher education with the politics of difference.

But mainstream opposition and resistance to Apartheid had the politics of equal dignity as its guiding thread. This kind of politics is based on a demand for the recognition of universal human needs and capacities, and it is inhospitable to the claims of a politics of difference. The politics of equal dignity is 'difference blind', as is succinctly expressed in what became a key demand of the resistance movement in education in the late 1980s for a single education department to replace the seventeen or so education departments then in existence. This can be read more as a cry for equality of recognition than as an administrative recommendation. It is also expressed in the non-racial stance of the ANC government, and the development of a *Bill of Rights* which will underpin the equality of all citizens.

A black American scholar, writing not about South Africa but about manifestations of racism in many USA colleges and universities in the late 1980s, expresses the same line of thinking:

> [The] elevation of difference undermines the communal impulse by making each group foreign and inaccessible to others. When difference is celebrated rather than remarked, people must think in terms of difference, they must find meaning difference, and this meaning comes from an endless process of contrasting one's group with other groups . . . and in the process each group mythologises and mystifies its difference, puts it beyond the full comprehension of outsiders. Difference becomes an inaccessible preciousness toward which outsiders are expected to be simply and uncomprehendingly reverential . . . I think universities should emphasize *commonality* as a higher value than 'diversity' and 'pluralism' — buzzwords for the *politics of difference*. (Steele, 1989)

In the light of this history of domination under the guise of respecting cultural difference, and resistance to that domination in terms of the politics of equal dignity, perhaps we might begin to understand the 'anomaly' that, in spite of its popularity in the intellectual circuits of Europe and North America, multiculturalism and multicultural education have not become major issues for

debate in South Africa. Perhaps, to put the point in an exaggeratedly sharp way, we can say that South Africans have had a century of experience of the politics of difference, and they didn't like what they saw.

Multiculturalism and Social Stability

South Africa needs to escape from the dark clouds of its history, and one of the most threatening clouds is that both colonialism and Apartheid emphasized difference in a way in which coercion and manipulation became the main means of maintaining social stability.

A main problem in the 'new' South Africa is how to discover social cohesion which is not dependent on manipulation, threats and force, and in a political context in which some of the major trends of our history have generated an assumption of mutual cultural incomprehension and antagonism, fragmentation and division. We have to discover, and maintain, a shared meaning for 'we'; a sense of community which is a necessary condition for democratic politics. And at present the politics of equal dignity looks like a more promising route than the politics of difference.

But perhaps even to pose the issue in this way, as if it is a matter of a *choice* between alternative routes, is misleading.

It is noteworthy that debates about multiculturalism and multicultural education do not seem much in evidence in, for instance, Somalia, Chechnya, Burundi, Bosnia or Ruanda, or other countries which attract the attention of Amnesty International. The debate flourishes in western Europe and North America, and countries like Australia which participate in the same intellectual circuits; and, significantly, in public institutions, especially educational institutions, which, in spite of self understandings of conflict and division, enjoy broadly accepted legitimacy and a stable existence.

To put it in what might turn out to be a crude formulation, debate about multicultural education takes place against a backdrop, typically unarticulated, of social stability. The phrase 'social stability' is hardly transparent, and I shall try briefly to indicate what I am referring to.

People living in the countries of the 'North' enjoy a degree of social and personal security which is hardly imaginable in large parts of the world. In such countries there is substantial affluence and economic stability and a framework of political traditions and institutions, which are a product of historical developments over some centuries, and which provide a structure within which political and social conflicts are only abnormally resolved by resort to machetes and AK47 rifles.

Mass schooling systems are well-established in such societies; it can be assumed that at least the vast majority of the children of the society not merely have access to regular schooling but that pupils and teachers actually attend school on a regular basis. And in spite of scepticism in some academic circles, the value of schooling is broadly accepted; by and large it is believed that public

educational institutions contribute to the amelioration of gross social inequality and enable people to fulfil their potential.

And such social and institutional stability is underpinned by what we might call deep moral agreement, although whether 'moral' is the right word to refer to this underlying condition is a moot point.[6] Agreement at this deeper level is neither bland moral consensus nor an inflexible republic of virtue; it is more like a deeply embedded assumption about how it is appropriate for human beings to relate to each other, even if they disagree profoundly about some significant issues.

These features of the countries of the 'North' I am describing in broad and generalized terms here can, typically, simply be taken for granted in such societies, and anxiety about the perceived 'problems' — such as the fate of 'marginalized' groups in some urban centres and rural backwaters, the levels of domestic and other violence, a 'rising tide' of drug abuse and teenage pregnancies, and the difficulties of 'minorities' to flourish in public institutions such as schools — can be seen as reinforcing the point I am making. To see such things as 'problems' is to assume agreement about what is 'normal'.

The achievement of this degree of social stability is, at least in large measure, an outcome the persistent pursuit, since the European enlightenment, of the politics of equal dignity. This form of politics arose in opposition to what were seen as the injustices of a social order based on difference, and what it emphasizes is the ways in which human beings are similar to each other. It is a kind of politics for which impartial treatment is the central regulative ideal. It is 'difference blind' in respect, for example, to schooling. All children, irrespective of the social status of their background deserve an equal opportunity for schooling. Much of the history of schooling in such societies, over the past, say, two centuries, is a history of attempts to achieve more and more adequate implementation to the ideals of the politics of equal dignity. As cracks show we try to repair them.

It is against this background of social stability that the politics of difference emerges, and can flourish. The politics of difference is logically and historically parasitic on the politics of equal dignity; it arises in an historical context which has been shaped by a tradition of the pursuit of the politics of equal dignity. If this claim is true then it is likely that not only will the politics of difference find it difficult to gain a foothold in a society which does not have an established tradition of the politics of equal dignity, but it might be unwise and risky to try to introduce it in such a society. It might have the effect of simply tearing such a society apart. The high moral tone of much of the discourse of multicultural education has a hollow ring to it if it is the harbinger of social disintegration.

Teacher Education and the Politics of Equal Dignity

Let us now turn our attention to teacher education in South Africa. South Africa does not (yet) have the kind of social stability I have tried to describe

above, it does not have a strong tradition of the pursuit of the politics of equal dignity. For the majority of the people in this country sheer survival is a constant challenge. Many do not have even adequate nutrition and drinkable water, never mind basically decent shelter or health care, and reasonable security from the high levels of violence which are 'normal' in some sectors of the society. At the same time human and financial resources are stretched to the limit, and economic recovery is high on the development agenda.

The schooling system is in tatters. As is typical of many 'developing' countries, 'school age' children constitute a much higher proportion of the population than they do in richer countries; significant numbers of children have no access to schooling at all, and the majority attend schools which are in deep disarray, with little in terms of established routines and very little by way of a shared sense of the significance of systematic learning. We might polemically ask what purchase multicultural education might have in such a situation?

The education struggle in this country has left us with a legacy of widespread cynicism about the value of learning, a deep suspicion about the ideological underpinnings of educational authority, and idealistic views about the democratic governance of schools. In spite of the 'miracle' of the general election of April 1994, fundamental moral agreement is not securely established. Social cohesion is fragile, and it is not merely alarmist to suggest that South Africa runs the ever-present danger of becoming another Somalia or Bosnia.

These social conditions have direct implications for teacher education in South Africa at this time. The schools, and thus the teachers who teach in them, are a critical locus for the regeneration of South Africa, and such regeneration depends crucially on the fostering of social cohesion. But this implies a particular agenda for teacher education. At the heart of this agenda stands the politics of equal dignity.

We might fill in some of the details as follows. Given our experience of the ugly lines of segregation, a high priority for teachers, and thus for teacher education, in this phase of our history, is to contribute to the generation of a unifying, and deep, moral agreement; a shared meaning for who 'we' are. This will be achieved not so much by lectures in moral philosophy or political exhortations to patriotism or national pride, but in the details of teaching practice. Teachers need to resist the moral blandishments of the politics of difference, and develop a procedural commitment to ignore the historically constructed differences between learners — to be colour and gender blind — and to treat, and respect, all pupils equally. Teachers need to learn the difficult skills of exercising impartiality in their professional relationships and educational judgment, and using forms of assessment and evaluation which are strictly 'difference blind'. They need to cultivate a stance of equal expectations of all learners, and to overcome the matrix of demeaning, patronizing or condescending, and ultimately disempowering, attitudes which have historically shaped human relationships in South Africa.

In addition, and in line with the traditional attempts to achieve the ideals of the politics of equal dignity in countries with a long history of striving for

this end, teacher education needs at this time in South Africa to retrieve a belief in the value of systematic learning, to foster in teachers a proper sense of their responsibility to contribute to the maintenance of regular institutionalized schooling, conventional in countries of the 'North', characterized by standard routines, regular class attendance and 'normal' standards of progress through the system.

And underpinning all this there needs to be a reassertion of what it means to be a member of a profession with a vital public role in society. In teacher education there needs to be a strong emphasis on the fostering of a proper sense of professional responsibility to contribute to the improvement of society by being an initiator of social cohesion in gestation, an exemplar and practitioner of the politics of equal dignity, against an historical backdrop which has corrupted these ideals.

This sketch of the main agenda for teacher education in South Africa at this time would rightly be regarded as deeply conservative in an affluent society characterized by dynamic social cohesion. But my point is that South Africa is not such a society.

Reconciling the Politics of Equal Dignity and the Politics of Difference

Perhaps the politics of difference is a warning shot across our bows. South Africa is, after all, a highly plural society.

Perhaps the kind of emphasis I have placed on the centrality of the politics of equal dignity in the main agenda for teacher education in South Africa at this time is simply an assertion of a different form of monocultural teacher education to replace the forms traditional in South Africa. Perhaps in my attempts to emphasize the historical contextualization of debate about multiculturalism, I have not been sufficiently sensitive to the real diversity of South African society. Perhaps we need to take more seriously the implied warning from the North that the politics of equal dignity turns out to be self-defeating in the end.

Perhaps, too, the sketch I have given of social conditions in South Africa is too pessimistic. While it is true that much of the schooling system is in disarray, some of it is in very familiar good shape; and while social cohesion might not be as robust as it is in more settled and affluent societies, it is, paradoxically given our history, not so fragile as to be at the point of immanent breakdown. And we need, too, to take into account the increasing intrusion of international moral conviction, and the extent to which either mode of politics in its pure form is likely to become increasingly unstable in a globalizing world. As Charles Taylor remarks: 'There are other cultures, and we have to live together more and more, both on a world scale and commingled in each individual society.'[7]

In the previous section, I raised doubts about the idea that the politics of equal dignity and the politics of difference offered alternative routes between

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which we had a choice. The argument was that historically and logically the politics of difference is parasitic on the politics of equal dignity, and until the politics of equal dignity has done its work of establishing social cohesion, the politics of difference can have no real purchase, and might indeed pose a threat to social cohesion.

In this section, I shall explore a different way in which it is misleading to suggest that the two modes of politics present a *choice* between alternatives. I shall reconsider the incompatibility I have assumed between the two modes of politics, and then, in a concluding section, introduce some modifications to the sketch I have provided of the main agenda for teacher education in contemporary South Africa.

The incompatibility I have assumed arises in the following way. The politics of equal dignity is procedural; it claims to be culturally neutral, to be able to provide a public space in which differences between citizens will be ignored, where all citizens will have equal dignity, rights and entitlements as citizens. The politics of equal dignity claims to provide a neutral ground on which people of all cultures can meet, and co-exist.

Against this, the politics of difference argues that the politics of equal dignity, with its seminal 'difference blind' principle, subtly perpetuates inequalities of life-chances. It is not true that the politics of equal dignity ignores all differences between people. Why, for instance, does this mode of politics favour the idea that it is the young of the society who appropriately attend primary and secondary schools, or that only those found guilty by the due processes of law should be confined in prisons? In effect, what the politics of difference claims is that a range of differences is already acknowledged by the politics of equal dignity as relevant to different treatment, but that the range is too limited. In order to achieve its overarching goal of an equal society the politics of equal dignity needs to take on board additional differences, such as cultural and gender differences; in other words, to expand its view about which differences are relevant.

The politics of equal dignity understands human dignity to consist largely of respect for individual autonomy, the potential of each person to determine for themselves a view of a good, or satisfactory, life for them; and the capacity, given the opportunity, to construct their own identity in the light of that view. But the politics of difference objects that this understanding of individual autonomy is based on the fantasy that each individual human being constructs their own identity in a cultural vacuum, as it were. It ignores the ways in which individual identity is not a free, monological, construction, but is formed by, and in, cultural contexts, and is essentially dialogical. Recognition, and respect, from those who understand one's project are key factors in the construction of identities.

Ignoring cultural differences in schooling, failing to recognize or respect them, as is recommended by difference blindness, is said massively, and persistently, to disadvantage pupils who come from a cultural background different from the hegemonic culture of the school, and it hinders their access to education.

No politics can be as culturally neutral as the politics of equal dignity claims to be, and its claim to provide neutral ground is a fraud which, in effect, simply perpetuates inequality.

But let us now see whether there is some *modus vivendi* between these two modes of politics, some reconciliation between them. Two examples can help us in this task. The first is the example of affirmative action, or reverse discrimination. At first glance a policy of affirmative action looks like an affront to the politics of equal dignity, an obvious example of the politics of difference. But this is not the case. Affirmative action is a response to an acknowledgment of systematic historical disadvantagement. But it is conceived of as a temporary strategy, a *provisional* recognition of specific historically produced differences, in order to 'level the playing field' so that the politics of equal dignity can resume its normal operation. In this way, a policy of affirmative action is quite different from multiculturalism and multicultural education. These stances require the *permanent* recognition of difference as a ground for special treatment. Indeed, the object of multiculturalism is to perpetuate and maintain differences, especially cultural differences, and to defend them against being watered down, and losing their distinctive identity in interaction with other cultures.

The second example is of the 'mainstreaming' of children with special needs, children previously regarded as deserving special treatment, perhaps special classes and in some cases even special schools. The policy of 'mainstreaming' seems to be opposed to the politics of difference, and a strong appeal for the recognition of equal dignity. But a more nuanced interpretation is to say that what this policy implies is that 'mainstream' schooling runs on too narrow a conception of 'normality'.

'Mainstream' schooling already accommodates significant forms of diversity, and the demand is that it become more accommodating and tolerant of diversity, to expand its notion of what kinds of differences are compatible with a politics of equal dignity, to modify its modes of operation, including its traditions of teaching, to accommodate additional learner diversity. The key point here is that the institution cannot be regarded as a 'given' to which learners simply need to adapt. This is, in effect, a challenge to an inflexible implementation of the politics of equal dignity'.[8]

These two examples take us towards a reconciliation between the two modes of politics, but we need concessions from both. The politics of equal dignity must abandon its claim to be culturally neutral and difference blind, and acknowledge that it is not purely procedural but itself a particular political and cultural project; and the politics of difference must disconnect itself from its attachment to its presupposition that difference is permanent and necessarily of value. The politics of equal dignity needs a more expansive and inclusive conception of rationality; and the politics of difference must abandon its adherence to epistemological and moral relativism, and in this way distance itself from most of what we find under the blanket of multiculturalism and multicultural education.

In a concluding section I shall supplement my suggestion for the main

agenda for teacher education in South Africa at this time, with two lessons drawn from a reconciliation between the two modes of politics.

Additions to the Agenda for Teacher Education

South Africa is a 'plural' society with its schools becoming more heterogeneous by the day. The responsibilities of school teachers are likely to become immensely more challenging, and teacher education is obliged to take this on board. I shall here suggest two supplementary additions to the main agenda already outlined earlier. These additions are complementary to that agenda, and not in conflict with it. The first arises out of a consideration of the conception of culture which is one of the dark clouds of our history, and is also embedded in debate about multiculturalism and multicultural education. In this conception culture is sacred, and it might have its roots in a conceptual link between culture and religion. Mercifully religious differences do not stand at the centre of South African diversity.

If we think of culture as sacred then we are likely to go on to think that reverence is the appropriate stance towards culture, that cultures are inviolate, that their differences should be regarded as sacrosanct, and probably if our background is in one of the monotheistic religions such as Christianity or Islam, we are also likely to think of cultures as having unequal value, and embodying incommensurable values.

I do not have a recipe for how it might be done, but I do think that an important item on the agenda for teacher education in South Africa at this time must be to enable teachers to develop a different conception of culture. At the heart of this conception is the view of culture, at least living cultures, as continually being modified. In the profane world in which we live our lives there are no 'pure' cultures, and cultural forms are in continual interaction with each other. One way to generate a different conception of culture in a teacher education programme might be critically to consider the fate of culture in the modern world of unprecedented mobility, rapid transportation, transnational markets, and the burgeoning of more and more available globalized electronic information and communication technologies.

But, however it is done in practice, South African teachers at this time need to be operating with a conception of culture in which cultural difference can never provide an excuse for a romantic and sentimental refusal to engage in respectful dialogue; and one which acknowledges that the interfaces and mutual enrichment between existing cultures provide the most promising node for the generation of the social cohesion we need for our survival.

The second supplementary item on the main agenda underpins the first. Teachers need to overcome a stance of moral and intellectual relativism, which can sap their confidence by inducing anxiety and guilt about the very practice of teaching. Moral and intellectual relativism is one of the dark clouds from which we need to escape, and a lesson we do not need from much of what is

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said about multiculturalism and multicultural education in societies in which such debates are not matters of life or death.

From the security of an affluent society it might seem reactionary. But I think that a main task for teacher education in South Africa at this time, plural as the society may be, is for teachers to develop a supple and resilient conception of rationality, and to implement it as the regulative ideal of their practice of professional educative teaching.

Notes

1 This chapter benefited from conversations with Charles Taylor, Rosalie Small, Susan Meyer, Nelleke Bak, and Sigamoney Naicker, but none is likely not to disagree with some of the conclusions I reach.

2 The phrase 'rainbow people' was put into circulation by Archbishop Tutu, the Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape.

3 An example is Professor J. Chris Coetzee in 'The theory of Christian-National Education', reprinted in Rose, B. and Tunmer, R. (Eds) (1975) *Documents in South African Education*, Johannesburg, Ad Donker.

4 The seminal expression of this view is to be found in Frantz Fanon (1961) *The Wretched of the Earth*, Paris, Maspero.

5 Paulo Freire (1986), *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books.

6 A wonderful discussion of this view, characterized in terms of the classical Greek notion of *nomos*, is to be found in Nussbaum, M.C. (1987), 'The betrayal of convention: A reading of Euripides' *Hecuba*', in *The Fragility of Goodness*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

7 Charles Taylor 'The politics of recognition' in Gutmann, A. (Ed) (1992) *Multiculturalism and 'The Politics of Recognition'*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, p. 72. This paper by Charles Taylor is the source of my key contrast between the politics of equal dignity and the politics of difference, and, in general, had a major impact on my argument.

8 The University of the Western Cape has developed an 'open admissions' policy which combines the two kinds of considerations: affirmative action in relation to those historically excluded by the policy of Apartheid from university study, combined with an attempt to transform the university and its practices to accommodate students who would previously have been seen as standing outside of the boundary of 'normal' university students.

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Chapter 9

Training Teachers for a Multicultural Future in Spain

Carmen Gonzalo and Maria Villanueva

Although a long-established plural society, Spain is now experiencing a new and more varied wave of immigration which is generating predictable educational needs, and some early experimentation in teacher education.

Due to the complexity of historical processes, most countries, with few exceptions, have always been culturally plural. Multiculturality is not a new phenomenon; in Europe many of the states can be considered plurinational. The consolidation of the nation-states during the nineteenth century, left within their territorial frontiers many cultural and linguistic minorities. The introduction of compulsory schooling in Europe promoted, from the beginning, the development of only one language and of common values and national feelings in order to highlight the differences between states. Schooling had the main objective of homogenization in order to establish clear distinctions between states, cultures and languages. In general this implied the omission of minorities, especially linguistic minorities. The national systems of training teachers were used for creating and establishing the basic concepts and values of the national State.

The cultural heterogeneity that educational policy pretended to override, greatly increased in many European countries with the internal and external migratory movements which accompanied the economic growth since War World Two, and it has been extended to the Mediterranean since the shift in the migratory fluxes following the economic crisis of the 1970s. Our societies will develop into a greater pluralism and heterogeneity of cultures and languages, and this will affect the work of teaching institutions at all levels and the educational systems themselves. It is without any doubt an important pedagogical challenge. But the settlement of minority groups within the receptor countries demands social policies of all kinds, and especially in the educational field.

Multicultural education thus has social, political and cultural roots. It exists because there is a social need. Frequently, the school has been the first institution to reflect ethnic, religious and cultural pressures; what has been called 'the schooling of social problems'. But it has also been the main mechanism not only to erase diversity as already mentioned, but also to silence these minorities' problems and complaints. Education for pluralism, solidarity and respect for human rights is a present and future need in pluricultural and democratic societies.

Spain, an Old Plural Society

Spain has had a long history, a region where different cultures have met, many times in conflict, but with the result of a culturally rich and plural society. The settlement of groups as different as the Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Celts and Germans, were followed by seven centuries of Arabic influence. This history has left within the modern political borders, four different languages, a great regional diversity and some ethnic minorities like gypsies.

Since 1978, Spain as a plurinational State, has been ruled by a Constitutional Law which enacted autonomous regions that, in most cases, have their historical origins in former kingdoms. Each of these autonomous communities is ruled by a Statutory Law, and has its own Parliament and Government. The official language of the State is Spanish, but there are three communities which have their own language that is co-official in their territory, and taught in the schools as the first language. This constitutes the first challenge for the educational system in our plural society. This is the case in Catalonia, which constitutes an example of the pluricultural society due to its geographical location and to its economic history. Placed in the north-east area of the Iberian Peninsula, it has been a corridor for all north–south cultural movements. Its territory covers 6.3 per cent of Spain's area, and it contains about 16 per cent of its population. During the last eighty years, this region has undergone fast population growth as a consequence, in part, of the rural exodus within the Catalonian region but mostly, of the migratory movement from the less-developed areas in Spain. Between 1950 and 1970, more than 500,000 immigrants from the rural southern regions of Spain came to Barcelona, the capital city of the region. They arrived from remote rural villages with their social structures, values and customs, and were pushed into an industrial and urban environment, often in slums or run-down areas, and later into suburban 'ghettos' of high population density. Today, about 60 per cent of the population can be considered descendants of these internal migratory movements of the last sixty years, which have been integrated, to a greater as lesser degree, into the social and cultural Catalan environment. Their children have learned the Catalan language in school, a language that was forbidden during the years of dictatorship (1939–75). This process of cultural mixing has been one of the most important events in our contemporary social history, and the integration of the migrants has deeply marked the present Catalan society.

A Long History of Emigration

Migratory movements, internal and external, have been a regular feature of the demographic history of Spain. For centuries, these flows have been a solution for the imbalance between population and resources, and in recent times also, a source of capital in the financing of contemporary economic growth. The history of population movements out of the Peninsula started with the American

conquest; but in spite of the colonial defeat in the nineteenth century, emigration continued to South and Central America, while it began a new flow to the north of Africa. Between 1882 and 1896, 360,000 people migrated to America, and in the period 1901–10, the annual number was some 100,000 people. This represents about 1.8 million migrants from 1900 to 1915. The 'emigrants' destinations were former colonies: Argentina, Cuba, Mexico and Uruguay, and also the Portuguese state of Brazil. This trend decreased during the first World War, and it practically stopped after the second, due to the immigration restrictions in American countries and the internal difficulties in Spain because of the dictatorship.

In 1959, a change in economic policy was made as an attempt to end Spain's political isolation. This change involved an agricultural and industrial shift, and as a result, a fast growth of unemployment and a new migratory flow in two different ways: one internal, from rural to urban areas, and another to the northern European countries. Between 1960 and 1973, about 3 million people went to Germany, France, Switzerland, Netherlands and England as cheap labour. In this way, Spain was one of the countries that, through the international migration since the late 1950s, made a major contribution to the changing economic and social geography of Europe.

New Trends in Migratory Movements: The Immigration Wave

The economic crisis of the 1970s led to a fundamental reshaping of European labour migration patterns, because the economic restructuring modified the character of internal migration. With the closure of frontiers and the establishment of restrictive migratory policies in the European countries, Spain has become, as Italy, a point of arrival for African migrants. The closure of north American frontiers also brought a substantial number of Philippine and Latin American people, the last also pushed by the military dictatorships, specially in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. On the other hand, the admission process into the European Community represented a shifting in the economic patterns of Spain. Mediterranean Europe, a source of mass emigration up to twenty years ago, is now a region of immigration. People in the Third World, where more than half of humanity lives in poverty, are moving in search of new jobs and opportunities. For the first time we can see in our towns and villages, in the countryside and in the factories these new workers, coming from the Mahgreb and Central Africa, the Caribbean and the Philippines, and more recently, from eastern Europe.

The number of foreigners in Spain has reached 800,000 people, (2.5 per cent of the total population), half of these from the Third World,[1] and the other half from European countries or North America, mainly retired people living in the coastal areas in the south and south east. The fast growth of the immigration movement from the poor countries into Spain started in the 1980s, and during the last ten years the number of arrivals grew with a cumulative average rate of

30 per cent per year. The immigrant presence is concentrated in the large cities where the newcomers work in the informal economy or in the services sector; but they have also settled in the intensive labour agricultural areas in the east and south-east of the country. Catalonia, because of its economic structure and its geographical location on the border with France, is one of the most affected by this migratory process. The Mediterranean countries are the gateway of Europe for the African people, and Spain is now experiencing this phenomenon. Its long tradition of emigration is shifting to the assumption that we are on the rich border of the sea.

Towards a Multicultural Future: The Educational Challenge

Modern Spain, in spite of its regional and cultural diversity and the presence of ethnic minorities in its territory, has little experience of receiving peoples of non-occidental cultures. It is entering slowly into this new era. And as a country with a recent history of immigration, the number of people of other cultures is small and the links with the Spanish people are still weak, so the outbreaks of xenophobia have only first started. Nevertheless, the fact that they are arriving in a period of general economic crisis with problems of unemployment, explains the rapid spread of feelings of distrust and fear.

The school system is starting to reflect the new demographic trend. In some parts of the country, such as Andalusia or industrialized and urban areas, we can see people from different continents as is normal in other European regions. Multicultural education as a social need is already more than evident, but the school curriculum does not include any subject dealing with it. The new *Educational Reform Act* establishes mathematics, foreign languages, Spanish, physical education, arts and a new area called natural, social and cultural environment as core curriculum areas in primary schools.[2] The Act also establishes, for the first time, a certain number of cross-curricular areas on those relevant issues that should be treated in a global way, through school activities and experiences. These issues deal with ethical and peace education, gender equity education, health education, environmental education, and consumer education. Nothing is said about multiculturalism, except in the general aims of peace education where the need for cultivating knowledge of and respect for ethnic, religious and cultural diversity appears.

In spite of European Community recommendations, and although the Spanish Constitutional Law and *Education Act* contain generic statements about respect and tolerance towards different cultures in the country, there is no specific regulation about the training of teachers in this field. The first proposal of the Ministry of Education in this sense was issued in 1990, with a programme for the integration of ethnic and cultural minorities. This document was addressed to those schools with children of different cultures, and it stated the need for introducing an intercultural perspective. The relevance of this document was that for the first time, the academic authorities took into account the fact that

multicultural education should be the school's responsibility and not that of individual specially trained teachers. Multicultural education has been considered, up to now, as a kind of compensatory education more than a general need. The document implies that all teachers should be trained to cope with plural schools.

In Spain, teachers have been trained with a homogeneous curriculum without any concern about diversity. But during the last thirty years, groups of teachers have started a pedagogical renewal that among other aspects has focused on cultural diversity, working directly with children and preparing materials. On the other hand, they have also been undertaking important theoretical reflection on pluriculturality and linguistic conflicts. These groups have worked more intensively in those areas culturally plural and with two languages, such as Galicia, the Basque Country or Catalonia.

The Training of Teachers

The 1990 *Educational Reform Act* which allows more autonomy to the universities has been the starting point of curriculum diversity in the training of teachers, and since then developments have varied from one university to another. Students must take in all cases, a three-year degree at faculties of education, and they can choose between different options: infant, primary, music, physical education, foreign languages or special needs education.[3] Their curriculum is integrated by compulsory (60 per cent) and optional (40 per cent) subjects. Only 40 per cent of it is established at a national level, and each university now has the autonomy to organize the remaining 60 per cent, (20 per cent as compulsory subjects and 40 per cent as optional subjects), and to introduce particular studies. This accounts for the differences among them.

Among the compulsory subjects established in the *Reform Act* at a national level or by universities themselves, there is none aimed to prepare teachers for a multicultural environment. It is in the optional part of the curriculum where most of the teacher training institutions offer some sort of studies related in a way or another to multiculturality. These studies are undertaken by a wide range of university departments: pedagogy, psychology, anthropology, sociology, foreign languages, geography and this implies a diversity of approaches and a dispersal of aims, which is at the same time, a cause and a consequence of not having a theoretical pattern on which to base practical experiences. At the moment, many teachers claiming to be doing multicultural education could be doing either complementary or opposite work.

An analysis of teacher training studies in different universities shows a range of subjects related to multicultural education which could be enclosed in three groups:

- A first group is constituted by those subjects addressed more directly to values education. This is the case of six universities which include modules on human rights education or peace education, and whose aims are education against racism, intolerance and xenophobia. All these

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modules are normally taught within pedagogy, psychology and sociology departments.

- A second group is integrated by such academic subjects as geography and history, which focus their teaching on exploring the origins and agents of modern plural societies with the aim of providing conceptual instruments for the understanding of migratory processes and the power relationships that help to explain ideologies in the context of imperialism. Several institutions have modules on international relations, the contemporary world, or European studies which indicate this approach in their programmes.
- Finally, there are a group of modules addressed to analysing different aspects of pluricultural societies and their pedagogical challenges. This is the more complex group to define as it includes modules such as 'psychology of bilingualism', 'sociology of language' or 'ethnic minority education'. Most universities have modules which could be included in this group.

As mentioned earlier, all these studies are *optional*, and their success mainly depends on the willingness of students to choose subjects which are not yet considered among the more useful for their career. Nevertheless, there is a growing interest among students in choosing those subjects related to values education. It must be said that the background for these improvements in teacher education, and the growing interest among students and teachers for diversity issues, comes from the enthusiastic work of groups of teachers frequently within professional teachers' associations working with diversity in schools in areas with this social need. Their work in primary and further education schools where many pupils come from the Third World, and where the teachers have developed their own teaching materials and educational projects, can be considered in many cases examples of good professional work. These pioneer groups strongly influence teachers who choose to work in this kind of school, pushed mainly by ethical and ideological convictions.

In this sense, the need to overcome the old tradition of cultural uniformity has demanded from teachers and training institutions in Spain a great effort since the democratization of the country in 1975. Those areas with a different mother tongue which had been ignored in schooling, needed a great deal of work to prepare teachers and teaching materials to restore this basic right. That is why it could be said that in some of these areas there is a pedagogical heritage that constitutes the background for the new educational challenges. It is the case in Catalonia, where some of the best examples of multicultural school projects addressed to teaching in gypsy or African communities can be found.

Final Reflections

Despite these valuable experiences and the excellent efforts of so many teachers, the work in schools and in the training of teachers can be considered

as fragmented, isolated and dispersed as a consequence of the lack of a clear regulation about multicultural education. It can be said that the whole Spanish school system is still not equipped for the coming plural society. The education of teachers must be a key issue in the fulfilment of this social need. The socio-economic context does not convey attitudes of tolerance, and one cannot leave the change of attitudes to the social and political environment itself. Only with teachers prepared to live the reality of multiculturalism with attitudes of tolerance and dialogue, could young people be offered the necessary climate of reflection and debate to approach the conflicts in an objective way. In order to train those teachers, multicultural education in teacher training must permeate all academic subjects. It requires procedural knowledge and 'convinced' teachers, trained in the methods of such teaching. But above all, they need the understanding of basic concepts and ideas about the ways in which political, economic and social systems work. We are convinced that multicultural education needs to develop citizenship and political literacy, and an awareness of our personal and social ethnocentrism. Our society requires the best of all cultures and the common fight for a better world.

Finally, we would like to state that although the school must be an instrument to avoid or soften social conflicts in a multicultural society, it cannot accept the responsibility for doing so. Teachers can help to create individual attitudes, but the causes of those conflicts are not individuals but the structural violence whose solution is not in the hands of the teacher.

Notes

1 This is an *estimated* figure, due to the large number of illegals (probably about 250,000 people).
2 *Ley Organica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* (LOGSE), 3 October 1990.
3 Infant education embraces from 0 to 6 years, being subsidised by the State from 3 years-old, and compulsory from 5 years. Primary school embraces 6 to 12 years. Compulsory secondary school goes from 12 to 16. Before the *Reform Act*, infant school was 4 to 6 years, and primary school was 6 to 14, the limits of compulsory schooling.

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Chapter 10

Teacher Education in Sweden: An Intercultural Perspective

Gunlög Bredänge

Traditionally one of the less plural societies in Europe, Sweden has admitted many new citizens from around the world since the 1940s, and is pursuing clear pluralistic policies in teacher education.

This Chapter is written from a country which could not until quite recently call itself multicultural. It is a country with a large area, nearly twice the size of Great Britain, and a small population, only eight million. Fifty years ago, Sweden was an almost monocultural nation. The multicultural situation today is new and challenging. This is described in a Government Bill under the heading 'Strategies for Education and Research 1995', which states:

> Sweden is today a multicultural society, which must also be reflected within our education. Education at all levels must work together to support and promote cultural identity as well as knowledge of and respect for other cultures. (Swedish Ministry of Education and Science, 1995)

I will try to sketch the context within which intercultural education is to be developed. The description starts with a brief history of immigration to Sweden. The educational system is presented with an emphasis on minority education. Then, teacher education in general and in particular teacher training for minority education and for a multicultural Sweden is described. The Chapter closes with some reflections on problems and challenges related to intercultural issues in Swedish teacher education.

Sweden: A Plural Society?

Present Swedish society is characterized by great and rapid social changes. Rising unemployment, growing social segregation, and increasing non-European immigration are some of the distinctive features. Unlike many other European countries, Sweden has no marked concentration of immigrants to specific settlements. Every community in the country is obliged by law to receive and to

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care for a specified number of immigrants every year. This means that Swedes cannot close their eyes to the fact that Sweden has become a multicultural society. But to observe a fact is one thing, to realize its consequences is quite another!

The development towards multiculturalism in Sweden did not start in earnest until after World War Two. It is true that there are minorities with a long history in the country. However, those minorities, the Sami and the Torne Valley Finnish, are living in the sparsely populated, most northern part of the country, and in earlier years almost unknown to many Swedes. Furthermore, these groups have not been recognized as minorities with a right to their own languages and cultures until the last four to five decades (Widgren, 1985). In Sweden there are also some 6,000 Romany Gypsies.

In Sweden, the post-war period was an era of fast economic expansion due to the fact that Sweden had been neither directly hit nor occupied during the war, and was thus able to expand without having to rebuild the country. During the 1940s, refugees came from countries devastated by the war, many of them Jews from German concentration camps. During the 1950s and 1960s the opportunities for economic development seemed to be almost without limits. Swedish industry met with a severe labour shortage, which made companies go abroad to recruit labour, mostly from the Mediterranean countries of Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. The peak for this immigration was reached in the late 1960s. Only then were the first controls on labour immigration brought into force to restrict this situation. Beginning in the late 1970s, immigration changed partly as a consequence of the restrictions concerning labour immigration, and partly because of the political situation in Latin America. Refugees from this continent, mainly from Argentina and Chile, came in increased numbers, seeking asylum in Sweden.

The situation in Sweden has changed drastically more recently. Immigration and refugee policy is gradually becoming more restricted. Labour immigration has come to an almost complete end, and a growing number of refugees from more and more distant parts of the world are now seeking asylum in Sweden. With the exception of the large number of Bosnian refugees, today's refugees are often both geographically and culturally foreign to our country. In many ways Sweden lacks experience of these new groups, which has put a new pressure on Swedish immigration authorities and on the society as a whole. Refugees have come from Eritrea and Somalia, from Iran and Iraq, to mention only some of the groups. This changing scenario has coincided with economic recession and growing unemployment. Possibly as a consequence, Sweden now faces a tendency towards increased xenophobia and racism. Antagonism between different ethnic groups is more common today and aggression and violence is more open than before.

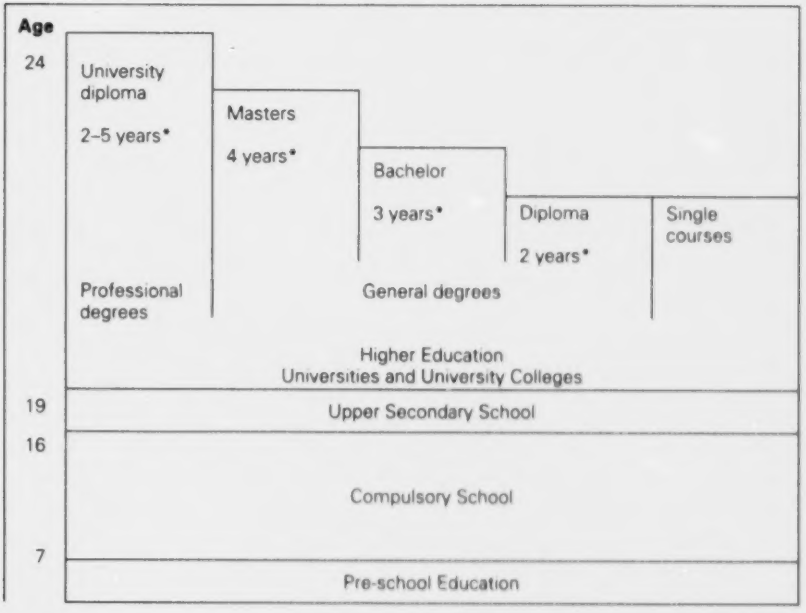
By 1975, the Swedish *Riksdag* (Parliament) adopted a set of goals for immigrant and minority policy — equality, freedom of choice, cooperation — which were reaffirmed in 1986. These are also the goals for minority education in Sweden. The State has entered into a number of international commitments,

such as the Convention on Children's Rights, the UNESCO declaration on race and race prejudice, the Recommendation No. R(84)18 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States of the Council of Europe on the training of teachers in education for intercultural understanding (Rey, 1986). These commitments have also influenced educational policy. The present situation in Sweden is that 6 per cent of the population are foreign citizens and another 4 per cent are of foreign origin.

The Educational System in Sweden

Sweden's educational system has an uncomplicated structure as can be seen in Figure 10.1. The possibilities for individual choice within the system have increased as a consequence of educational reforms at all levels. The steering system operates through objectives and results, not by rules. 96 per cent of the young people leaving compulsory school continue to upper secondary school. After a reform in 1992 (to be fully implemented in the academic year 1995/96), all sixteen study programmes (two theoretical and sixteen vocational) within the

Figure 10.1: The Swedish Educational System



Note: *Minimum requirements

upper secondary school will be of a three-year duration. Pupils today also have more options than in the former system.

In 1994, a new national curriculum for the compulsory comprehensive school and for the non-compulsory upper secondary system was passed (Swedish Ministry of Education and Science, 1994). The intercultural and international perspective is emphasized more than in the earlier curriculum, and the Swedish society is described as multicultural. School is to work actively against xenophobia and towards tolerance and understanding. The curriculum states:

> It is important to have an international perspective, to be able to see one's own reality in a global context in order to create international solidarity and prepare pupils for a society that will have closer cross-cultural and cross-border contacts. (op.cit.)

Minority Education in Sweden

As mentioned earlier, Swedish immigration policy is summarized in three goals. These have been 'imported' into the school system in terms of the three regulatory principles of equality, freedom of choice and cooperation, (MacNab, 1989). The principle of 'equality' implies that immigrant and minority pupils should be given the same development opportunities as Swedish pupils. The second basic principle, 'freedom of choice', guarantees immigrants and indigenous minorities the right to make cultural and linguistic choices. It gives them the right to use their language and to develop their native cultures in Sweden if they wish to do so. Active bilingualism for immigrant children is a clearly stated goal of minority education and is a consequence of free choice. The principle of 'cooperation' implies that 'a mutual and comprehensive cultural exchange should be established between immigrant and minority groups and the native population' (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980). In February 1985, the *Riksdag* decided that an intercultural perspective was to characterize all teaching in all types of schools, teacher education included.

11 per cent of the pupils in the compulsory comprehensive school have an immigrant background. The corresponding number in the upper secondary school is 6 per cent. Newly arrived immigrant pupils are put into preparation classes until their performance in Swedish enables them to follow instruction in Swedish with Swedish children of the same age. Teachers in preparation classes are specialized to teach Swedish as a second language (SL2). SL2- instruction then continues parallel to instruction in the Swedish class and is not optional. The decision about SL2 is not up to the parents but is taken by the school authorities, based on the ability of the pupil. There is a lack of qualified SL2-teachers in Sweden.

Immigrant parents can choose mother tongue instruction for their children. This instruction is given by a so-called 'home language' teacher, who has the same linguistic, ethnic and cultural background as the child. He/she is either a

qualified teacher from the country of origin or has received his/her teacher education in Sweden, besides which he/she must be fully familiar with life and school in Sweden and have a good linguistic proficiency in Swedish.

The participation in home language instruction varies greatly between different home languages (ninety-eight languages are taught). The decrease after 1990 is partly due to changed rules for government support. There certainly have been problems connected with the home language reform, and the reform itself has been questioned (Municio, 1987). It also seems clear that the political intentions and decisions have had smaller influence on the content of the instruction than the backgrounds of the home language teachers and the expectations of the immigrant parents (Garefalakis, 1994).

Table 10.1: Pupils with other home languages than Swedish participating in home language instruction (autumn 1985–93)*

Autumn	Number of pupils with other home languages	Of those, percentage participating in home language instruction
1985	81,800	68
1986	83,500	68
1987	88,300	66
1988	98,400	65
1989	98,200	65
1990	103,400	65
1991	103,300	59
1992	105,100	57
1993	102,200	57

Source: Statistics, Sweden (1995)
Note: *Total number of compulsory school pupils in 1992 was 892,612

Teacher Education in Sweden: An Overview

Since the 1977 Higher Education Reform, teacher education for all levels of the Swedish school system has been incorporated into the university system. In 1988, a radical reform of teacher education for the compulsory comprehensive school took place. The 1988 reform was followed by a minor reform in 1993.

The 1988 reform adapted teacher education to the school system, with one teacher education programme for the compulsory school and one for the non-compulsory upper secondary school. Within a framework set by a centrally established study programme laid down by the National Board of Universities and Colleges, each university made its local interpretation of the central plan. The study programme for the compulsory school has two orientations: one for teachers in grades 1–7, and one for teachers in grades 4–9, thus overlapping in grades 4–7. Professional teacher training is common to the two orientations. The National Curriculum for the education of teachers for the comprehensive school stated the following, among other overall principles, thereby laying stress upon the intercultural perspective:

> Training should enhance the students' ability to foster international understanding in their pupils and prepare them for their work in a multicultural society. Since Sweden today has many different ethnic groups, the students must also be given such training that they, as teachers, can contribute to their pupils' understanding of and sympathy with minority groups in our country. The students must also be made aware of the fact that they as individuals and as a part of a group are participating in intercultural processes. An intercultural perspective must therefore be intrinsic to the contents and organisation of the training programme. (Lundgren, 1989, p. 10)

With the 1993 reform, the national study programme was abolished and replaced by the Government's decree concerning teacher education. Owing to this the local influence on study programmes grew, although basic principles from the 1988 national study programme acted as guidelines for local changes. The Government's decree is today the only central rule. Professional training is given in core courses, common to all students. There core courses comprise forty out of the 140–180 points that constitute the entire education.[1]

Teacher education for the upper secondary level has also changed, although not quite as radically as that for the compulsory school. Programmes for teachers in theoretical and vocational subjects are separate, even if some integration exists. Professional training is common to all and core courses comprise forty out of 180 points.

Teacher education in a multicultural society concerns on the one hand minority education, on the other hand mainstream education. Both are briefly reviewed in the following sections.

Educating Teachers for Work with Immigrant Pupils

As mentioned above, 11 per cent of all the pupils in the compulsory comprehensive schools have an immigrant background. The number of immigrant pupils is largest in big city regions. There are schools with more than 80 per cent immigrant pupils. However, few schools in Sweden are completely monocultural, which is a consequence of the Swedish policy on immigration and refugee questions. Every community in the country is expected to admit and provide for groups of refugees after they have left the refugee camps and received asylum or a permanent permit to settle in Sweden.

Training of Mother Tongue Teachers for Immigrant Pupils

Mother tongue teachers, or as they are called in Sweden, 'home language teachers', have three tasks: to give mother tongue instruction; to give subject support in the pupils' own native language parallel to the regular instruction by

Swedish teachers; and finally, to act as a link and to bridge the gap between on the one side, the pupil and his/her parents, and on the other side school and the Swedish society. The greater the cultural distance between the pupil and the society, the more important the last mentioned task seems to be.

During the years 1977 to 1989, Sweden had a separate study programme for training home language teachers. The 1988 reform put an end to that programme. Instead, the training of home language teachers became part of the regular compulsory school teacher education. The intention was to train teachers to a double competence, both as home language teachers and as ordinary primary or secondary level teachers. As had been anticipated, the number of qualified applicants for this stream markedly dropped. This is mostly due to the very high demands for bilingual proficiency for admittance to the programme; but also because the applicants must have passed upper secondary school in Sweden. This leaves out immigrants who have come to Sweden as adults. Home language teachers, who have worked as such for a period of at least five years, can be admitted to a separate part of the general compulsory teacher education programme, thus getting the double qualification.

Training of Teachers for Second Language Instruction

Instruction in Swedish as a second language can be organised in different ways, depending on the level of competence of the pupils. Newly-arrived children in preparation classes have no proficiency at all in Swedish, and stay in preparation classes as long as is needed before they can join a Swedish class. A second language teacher is responsible for all instruction, that is Swedish and social studies, often with the assistance of home language teachers in the pupils' respective mother tongues. When the pupil is moved to the ordinary class the second language instruction continues, but now as a complement and support to regular instruction.

The second language teacher training is also part of the compulsory comprehensive teacher education programme, with Swedish as a second language as the main subject. There is a growing interest among applicants for this part of the programme, especially after the Government's recent decision to confirm a separate national curriculum in Swedish as a second language. This is to emphasize the difference between first and second language learning.

Teacher Education for a Multicultural Sweden

As a consequence of the changing society, new demands are put on teachers in today's Swedish schools. First, they must be able to cope with multicultural classes, so that all pupils irrespective of cultural origin get the same opportunities. Secondly, they must be able to prepare all pupils for life in a multicultural society, with its demand for tolerance and respect for all. These demands have

gradually grown, and today they are so strong that they should have an impact on teacher education.

The success of any changes of educational policy depends on how the teachers and staff who are to promote the changes can identify with the underlying values and attitudes. They should have positive attitudes, proper knowledge, skills and personal experience in the processes that they are expected to carry through. Pre-service and in-service training of teachers and staff development will be of vital importance. If interculturalism, as is the case in Sweden, becomes one of the goals for the training of teachers, then teacher education programmes should emphasize intercultural issues.

In 1992, an external evaluation of interculturalism in Swedish teacher education was published (Batelaan *et al.*, 1992). The evaluation was concerned with the implementation of intercultural, bilingual and international issues in the 1988 teacher education reform. One university college in northern Sweden, stood out as a good example. Its three regional cultures, the Sami, the Torne Valley Finnish and the Swedish, are starting-points for the development of intercultural education (Ranängen, 1988). For most universities and university colleges, however, the evaluation was unfortunately not very flattering. One of its conclusions was that:

> Until now there has been no evidence that teacher training institutions give the intercultural dimension the place it deserves in their study programmes. It is marginalised and 'squeezed' into the broad concept of internationalisation.

Another conclusion was that:

> . . . there is a need for:
> - institutional policy which clarifies the position of teacher education in its relation to international, national and regional commitments, and of the relation between the principles of the market economy and the needs of the society.
> - staff development for all teachers in teacher education.
> - curriculum development in intercultural education, both in the compulsory common part as well as in the subject studies.

Compared to when the above study was conducted, today's situation is somewhat better. After the 1993 reform, the teacher education programmes in different universities began to differ from each other more than before, which has made it difficult to give a complete picture of the national situation. Local conditions are markedly reflected in the programmes, which for instance means that in regions with a large number of immigrants teacher education is more sensitive to the new demands of intercultural education than in regions which lack this kind of experience. It is more likely in the former case to find teacher

training courses with an explicit intercultural content. At these institutions there also are greater possibilities for student teaching in multicultural classes.

The Government's decree concerning teacher education is very brief and only states:

> To receive a diploma in teacher education for the compulsory school the student must . . . have the ability to deal with human and overall issues like . . . international and intercultural issues [Author's translation].

A survey of local teacher education study programmes at different universities and university colleges in Sweden shows a very heterogeneous picture. Some programmes have cited the lines above but do not have separate courses. Others have optional courses for students interested in intercultural issues. However, even in the absence of specific courses, students might still obtain preparation for teaching in a multicultural society. Among the teacher education staff an individual lecturer with a special interest may very well introduce intercultural aspects as part of his/her own lectures. This is not visible in the official programmes. Compulsory courses are more seldom found in the programmes, although there are exceptions. At my own university, in Gothenburg, a compulsory interdisciplinary ten-week course was launched in Spring 1995, half of which is devoted to intercultural issues.

Necessary competence for future teachers for fostering international understanding in their pupils is a question of helping them to give children knowledge of the world, of the global situation, of consequences of war, of the conditions for co-existence in peace, and so on. Perhaps these matters are easier to handle than the intercultural dimension because they concern something very far away from the Swedish classroom and from the individual. They do not necessarily have personal consequences and imply no training to solve interpersonal and/or intercultural conflicts.

Before attending a conference within a European teacher education network, ETEN, I made a small investigation in Gothenburg (Bredänge, 1993), interviewing headmasters and persons responsible for minority education in comprehensive schools in the city and its surroundings. Their answers to my question 'What competencies do teachers need in order to teach multicultural classes?' were quite unanimous. They give priority to different areas in accordance with their different experiences, but the content of what they say can be summarized as follows. Teachers need:

- better self-understanding, i.e., good awareness of their own attitudes and values concerning their own cultural identity and ethnic minorities;
- flexibility and open-mindedness, capacity to identify different needs in different pupils and to adapt their instruction accordingly; a wide methodological repertoire, especially concerning investigative methods; and finally, analytic skills in discovering ethnocentric bias in textbooks, in teaching aids and in their own instruction;

- actual knowledge about Swedish immigrant and minority policy, about the reception of refugees and about minority education;
- experience of cross-cultural meetings and the ability to handle cross-cultural conflicts;
- awareness of the fact that teachers are civil servants, and as such are bound to follow the overall objectives of the Swedish school system as a part of the culturally plural Swedish society; and
- basic knowledge about how children react to war traumas. (This is a growing problem in classes which receive refugee children).

Most of the interviewed persons also emphasized their expectation that teacher education should provide student teachers with basic skills and knowledge in the field. These are the points of view of some practitioners. They show a striking correspondence with what has been said about multicultural teacher education from countries with a long multicultural tradition, e.g., from the US (Banks, 1985), from the UK (Lynch, 1986) and from the Netherlands (Teunissen, 1985).

Interculturalism in Swedish Teacher Education: Problems and Challenges

Is interculturalism possible in Sweden with its long monocultural history? The question seems more urgent today than only a few years' ago. For a long time there has been a rather benevolent attitude towards strangers among most Swedes, and common knowledge has been that power and influence belong to the majority. When the majority began to realize that the multicultural society was there to stay, the problems grew and what then seemed quite easy now turns out to be difficult.

In Sweden the concept 'intercultural education' is preferred. Multicultural education, used synonymously with multiethnic, multiracial etc., is something else. Intercultural is connected to interaction; intercultural skills are interaction skills. Thus, intercultural education concerns everybody, being focused on communication, cooperation and equal opportunities. You could say that this has been an important goal for our schools for a very long time. True; but what is new about intercultural education is the setting, the multicultural society, where the world is in or just outside the classroom, not thousands of miles away. This puts a much stronger press on school and society. *Intra*cultural communication does not demand the effort and the training that *inter*cultural communication does.

Teacher education in Sweden, like teacher education in most societies, is a very strong socialization agent, fostering teacher consciousness of the cultural heritage of the society in general and the school in particular (Arfwedsson, 1994). Student teachers represent to a large extent the educated middle class and the Swedish majority. Despite big efforts to get working class young people to

take to higher education, success has been very modest (Palme, 1989). Moreover, very few of the prospective teachers have an immigrant or minority background. Student teachers do not yet very often bring to teacher education their own experiences of multicultural settings. So far, there are no efforts in Sweden to actively recruit minority students to teacher education.

There is reason to believe that minority teachers have a great importance as role models for minority pupils. With an increasing number of immigrant children in Swedish schools, it is vital that the number of immigrant teachers increases. Minority student teachers are not registered as such, which means that their number is unknown. An effort was made some years ago to identify minority student teachers at my teacher training institution. Less than 1 per cent identified themselves as minority and/or bilingual! This raises the question: do immigrant young people look upon their bilingualism and cultural competence as a disadvantage instead of as an asset?

Teacher education does not exist in a vacuum. There are many connections with the 'reality' outside the university (even if school staff and students sometimes complain about the gap between ideal and reality in teacher education!). One of the most important connections is the student teachers' practical training. The student teacher, who has to do his/her professional training in a multicultural class, returns to the teacher training institutions with demands for an adequate preparation for this task.

As has been said before, changes in educational policy to be implemented by teachers in their classrooms, require that school staff can identify with the underlying attitudes and values of the changes. If that is not the case, implementation is likely to be retarded or made more difficult. It probably is also necessary that the suggested changes in some way meet the professional needs and demands of the teachers. Maybe this is why teachers in multicultural schools, with a large number of immigrant pupils, can more easily express solidarity with interculturalism than their colleagues in more monocultural areas. Within pre-service teacher training there are few such needs to meet, which means an extra challenge in promoting the intercultural perspective. Pre-service teachers should have the opportunity in student teaching to meet and work with the diversity of children they will teach when they graduate.

The role of teacher educators is to teach students how to learn how to teach children how to learn! This complicated chain is influenced by the values and attitudes of three different actors, the teacher educator, the student teacher and the pupil. Thus, if an intercultural perspective is to be able to permeate education, it is a concern for all three levels. Therefore, I strongly believe that staff development within the faculty is a prerequisite. My own suggestion for staff development within teacher education is represented by the the following objectives. Teacher educators should:

- deepen their knowledge about the multicultural aspects of Swedish society with special reference to the school;
- experience multicultural situations and meet with different ethnic groups;

- observe and work with their own basic values, and recognize and work with different expressions of prejudice, xenophobia and racism;
- develop an intercultural perspective on content, methodology and examination within their own subjects and areas of instruction. (Bredänge, 1993)

However, it is also necessary to explicitly include an intercultural perspective in all policy documents as well as in syllabuses for all courses within teacher education. The courses containing this should be characterized by the same objectives as those for staff development mentioned above.

Yebio (1982) has emphasized the meaning of intercultural education as an active, critical process of learning about other cultures in a global perspective; but also as aiming at a deeper understanding of the individual's own group and development of new social skills and responsibilities. As Yebio points out, it is perhaps even more vital to guarantee the intercultural approach in the monocultural classroom. It can be seen as a means to help children develop a global perspective and 'new social skills and responsibilities'.

As a teacher educator in Sweden with a great interest in intercultural issues, it is easy to feel discouraged by the slow progress in teacher training institutions to initiate compulsory courses to prepare teachers for a multicultural society. However, in the light of what has been achieved in countries with a much longer multicultural history than Sweden (e.g., Craft, 1981; Gollnick, 1992), countries which in spite of their long experience still discuss how to make sure that *all* teachers are prepared for intercultural education, perhaps there is no cause for a Swedish pessimism. The fact that there are more teacher training institutions in Sweden today than a few years ago which have observed the need for such a preparation, is an improvement.

Finally, there is a need for theoretical clarification on matters concerning the actual situation in the multicultural classroom. Perhaps recent research on teacher thinking (Arfwedsson, 1994) can give some new research ideas. There is also a need for studies concerning national and community strategies for the implementation of an intercultural education policy. Research on how to prepare students with a totally monocultural background for a professional life in quite different settings is also necessary. Discussions must continue in teacher education on how to help student teachers understand the needs of pupils with different cultural backgrounds, and how to encourage them to work with all their pupils in a way that increases mutual understanding, tolerance and respect. This is a process which takes time. Teacher training institutions must give this process the time it needs.

Note

1 1 point is equivalent to one week of full-time studies. Thus, teacher education lasts three and a half to four and a half years.

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Chapter 11

Teacher Education and Multiculturalism in The Netherlands

Gerard de Kruif

This chapter describes the traditionally diverse society of The Netherlands, the educational policies which have emerged to meet the flow of immigrants in recent decades, and the response of teacher education.

The Netherlands have always been a country of immigrants. There have been times, during the 16th century, for example, when important cities such as Amsterdam and Leiden consisted largely of immigrants. Not only labour immigrants, but also many refugees came to The Netherlands. Most of them had both religious and political reasons. After 1800, the total number of immigrants decreased to 1.9 per cent of the population in 1880 with a little increase in the 1930s, and then a staggering increase from 1960 up to now. It is important to mention that it has not always been the famous Dutch tolerance which caused this immigration. Economic benefit and also indifference were often reasons for acceptance.

At the moment, a distinction is made between *labour immigrants* (e.g., Moroccans, Turks/Kurds), *colonial immigrants* (people from Indonesia, Surinam and the Dutch Antilles), and *refugees*. The following figures give just an impression, as statistics in this area are not always reliable. About 15 million people live in The Netherlands, of whom 1.3 million in January 1993 were born in another country. The largest groups are people from Indonesia (188,000), Surinam (171,000), Turkey (159,000), Morocco (131,000) and Germany (128,000). The real number of people from Surinam is probably much larger, as many stay illegally. The total number of people with a foreign nationality is about 650,000, which is almost as many as there are people from The Netherlands living abroad.

Most of the immigrants who have come to The Netherlands since 1960 live in the four big cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. An average of 22 per cent of their inhabitants are members of ethnic minority groups. In the somewhat smaller cities it is 7 per cent. There is a real danger of the forming of ghettos in these big cities. Looking at the labour situation, we must realize that an immigrant has a four to seven times bigger chance of becoming unemployed than a native. In the period 1991–93 the average percentage of unemployment among minority groups was 25 per cent, compared with about 5 per cent of the Dutch majority group. Most successful are the

Mediterranean migrants who start small businesses such as merchantshops, barbershops, butchershops and Pizza bars. A policy of positive discrimination was not as successful as was expected. In this respect, every employer was obliged to register the number of non-Dutch employees to find out if the policy had succeeded, but most of the people did not cooperate.

Education in the Netherlands Related to Migrants: 1945–85[1]

In Dutch society in the period from 1945, we see that in relation to migrants four trends in thinking about the presence of migrants prevail. Roughly we can say that in the period between 1945–60, the idea about migrants (especially colonial migrants) is one of *segregation*. Migrants were put into special camps (especially people from Indonesia), with their own education based on the Dutch Acts of education. For these migrants education was 'biculturally' based. After 1960 the first bigger groups of male labour migrants arrived, without their families. People who arrived from other colonies (Surinam and the Dutch Antilles) were supposed to assimilate. The general opinion was that they are 'Dutch' (in terms of rationality), so they have to behave as the Dutch and have to follow Dutch education, just as every Dutch child. *Assimilation* is the key concept during that period. Education was monocultural.

From the second half of the 1970s, labour immigrants were allowed to invite their families. During those years Surinam became an independent sovereign state (1975), and many people from Surinam who did not trust the new situation in their country departed for The Netherlands. Education was not prepared for this new situation. But at the same time, we see that the idea took hold that The Netherlands was developing into an immigration country. *Integration* now became the central idea: the minority group was allowed to keep its own cultural identity, and was further expected to participate in the new society. This had several consequences, e.g., for education. Several minority groups acquired the right to ask for mother tongue lessons. Minority organizations that did not request that right did not get it. Other groups, especially those from the former colonies, were supposed to speak Dutch. From the very start of this right, there has been a lot of discussion about the effectiveness of this kind of mother tongue education.[2]

During the same period (the second half of the 1970s) teachers started to introduce Dutch as a second language in schools, in imitation of the social welfare houses where good willing social workers had already started all kinds of courses in the Dutch language, especially for migrant mothers. In education, a start was made taking account of the backgrounds of migrant children as far as they were present in the schools. Schools developed a concept which was labelled 'multicultural education'. Schools with a positive attitude started to invite parents to show their folkloristic clothes, to prepare their national dishes for the children etc.; a kind of folklore. But already after some years (by the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s), educationalists developed the

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concept of *intercultural education*. They stated that intercultural education is a way of thinking and acting throughout the whole school, regardless of the ethnic composition of the school. In society we see the development of a concept of acculturation, which was and is very idealistic: a reciprocal process of learning from each other, accepting one another, embedding elements of the other cultures in the culture of the majority. People 'forgot' that power and racism were elements which would hinder the successfulness of this societal concept.

Though the educational concept of intercultural education was very vague, the education authorities felt that something had to happen to stimulate the acceptance of this concept. Therefore, one of the articles in the latest *Education Act* of 1985 (in which pre-school education and primary education merged for all children aged 4–12 years) said that primary education is also education for living in a multicultural society. Just that. In the same Act, the conditions for language education for migrant children were definitely settled.

The Period from 1985 to 1995

Primary Education

During this period, the number of migrant children in the schools increased considerably. Teachers had to get accustomed to it and there was a lot of discussion about how to cope with this new situation. The discussion about mother-tongue lessons became the subject of a national debate. At the same time, the number of the so-called 'black schools' increased. In 1995, there are some 110 black schools out of a total number of 7,860 schools for primary education. In the four big cities, the percentage of migrant children (aged 4–12) varies at around 50 per cent.

From the late 1970s onwards, the Government had stimulated equal opportunities in education by providing the schools for primary education with extra money. The Government was focused on working class children at that time. From the 1980s, more and more extra money was reserved for migrant children, and special sets of rules were developed to distribute the available money. In 1984, the Educational Priority Policy was settled in an Act with the same name, and The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Welfare and Health coordinated its execution. In 1990, the latter withdrew for economic reasons. For the revival of the Educational Priority Policy both Ministries developed the so-called 'social renewal': an administrative approach seeking to combat and prevent social deprivation through combined action by central government, the municipalities, societal organisations and individual citizens. Actually, the local education authorities make the plans and executé them for the schools.

The result of the heated discussion about mother tongue lessons is that in the year 1995–6, the local councils will subsidize hours for mother tongue education. That does not say anything about the opinion of what teachers think about that kind of education.

Intercultural education is still a second topic of discussion. The legislators

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had the intention that *all* schools (with or without migrant children) should focus on the 'multicultural society'. Many schools — especially the so-called 'white schools' — had the idea that this article in the *Education Act* was not meant for them, and the Inspectorate was not able to make any comment because of the vagueness of the concept. However, schools in the migrant concentration areas in the big cities found that it was important to pay attention to the background of the children, (their religion, the values and standards of the parents, their identity etc.). As long as there were only a few nationalities in a school it was easy to accommodate. Teachers find it more difficult when there are more than ten nationalities in a school. Schools in the four big cities (but also in schools in the somewhat smaller cities) were confronted with prejudice, discrimination and racism. The Anne Frank Foundation began anti-racism training for teachers.

Within the framework of intercultural education three different tendencies became visible: 'interpersonal education', 'the knowledge approach' and 'anti-racism education'. In general, looking back, we can conclude the following. The first trend '*interpersonal education*' was more or less adopted by schools with a mixed population, but mostly where less than 50 per cent migrant children attended the school. The idea behind it was that only upon meeting a person can you learn about that person. Other schools with the same population chose the '*knowledge approach*', (also in secondary education). When children are given information about the background of migrant children they will respect the migrant children. Schools in labour areas of bigger cities were confronted with racism and had '*anti-racism education*' as a starting point. They mostly spent time giving background information.

During this period publishers started to develop methods for Dutch as a second language, and at the moment we can say that schools can choose out of at least three high qualified methods for Dutch as a second language. But supporting language materials (e.g., for the age-group 4–6) are also developing rapidly. One of the most important projects for the age-group 3–6 years is the so-called 'OPSTAP-project', a translation of the HIPPY project (Home Instruction Programme for Preschool Youngsters) in Israel, which is nowadays widespread all over the world. There was only one attempt to develop an integrated intercultural history and geography method. It was so expensive that only a few schools could afford to buy it. Besides, the specific situation of schools differed so much that a method could never cover all situations in every school. Other projects — not specifically meant for language acquisition — are the 'Magnet schools' in some big cities and schools with an 'extended school day'. This last project is especially successful in some black schools for secondary education. An attempt to start a 'Saturday school', following the example of some schools in Britain, in the Hague (especially for Asian children) was not successful.

Also something must be said about the participation of parents. During the period 1975–95, we see that Dutch families became more and more democratic. Children were allowed to discuss things with their parents. Problems were

negotiated with their parents. At the same time, parents increasingly started to discuss the achievements of their children with the teachers in the schools. This trend was first visible in the higher and middle class families. From migrant parents the same involvement was expected, but this did not materialize. They had educational backgrounds in which they were not supposed to discuss, but to leave school education to the professionals. Dutch teachers used to complain and still complain a lot about the lack of participation in education of migrant parents. But, participation presupposes another style of education. Irritation on the teacher's side is a consequence, sometimes appearing in the behaviour of the teacher towards the child. Societal prejudices and racism are not unknown among some teachers.

Earlier I mentioned four societal trends in thinking about migrants in society, and these were parallelled by educational concepts. In the 1990s, the concept of *pluralism* is penetrating the field of education. A short definition is 'interactive diversity'. It corresponds with a slight change in the concept of acculturation. The change in the concept is the more business-like way of thinking about the presence of migrants in Dutch society. Nowadays, thinking about education in a multicultural society aims for differences too. For a long time educators were convinced that they had to emphasize the comparison between Dutch and non-Dutch children. The reality is that children meet everyday with the differences. Educating for a plural society is admitting that there are differencies, that there is inequality. We should analyse the causes and solve these problems.

Secondary Education[3]

In secondary education it was a for long time very quiet, but here too schools were confronted with a major intake of migrant youngsters. Schools for lower secondary education started with so-called 'receiving classes', in which the students had to learn Dutch as quickly as possible. Besides Dutch, some other school subjects were added. These students had a lot of problems with learning Dutch, and many finished their secondary education without a certificate or they were pushed to learn a technical skill. Teachers met a big problem in vocational education as there existed no lists of professional (vocational) languages. During the second half of the 1980s an initiative was started to provide for this omission.

Between 1985 and 1995 some other initiatives were taken. Students were given the right to have language lessons (e.g., in Turkish or Arabic), and were allowed to finish their studies by doing a final examination in that language as a separate subject. Although the number of students participating in these kinds of examinations is increasing, in general students at that age are less enthusiastic about that opportunity because of not attending classes with their friends any more. Nevertheless, from 1994 we see a tendency (e.g., among Turkish students under influence of a political Islamic party — The Refah party) to go back to their roots. This also includes learning the mother-tongue.

When we look at intercultural education, we see that it is only during the first two years that a tutor gives it special attention. Many subject matter teachers say that they cannot spend any time on it because of the demands for the final examinations. It is only since 1990 that the national examination committee, which announces the items for the examinations, has been paying attention to aspects of intercultural education. Nevertheless, it is most of the time a knowledge-based approach. In 1989, the national educational support institutions produced for the first time a guide with ideas to change the contents and attitudes (of teachers) in secondary education. In 1990, the same organizations published a book with suggestions for intercultural education within each school subject.

Teacher Education[1]

The need to focus on intercultural education was especially felt in the teacher education colleges for primary education. It was only in the beginning of the 1980s that some colleges paid attention to the presence of migrants and migrant children in schools. One college had already started in the 1970s because of their special relationship with people from the Moluccas. It was a societal need, because the young people of this immigrant group had already hijacked a train, killed train travellers and had hostaged the Indonesian ambassador. It became important at that very moment to educate people from that immigrant group to integrate them in the Dutch society. In relation to the new *Primary Education Act* of 1985, the Minister of Education had decided in the preceding year (1984) that teacher education colleges for pre-school education and for primary education should merge to a four-year course for primary school teachers. The authorities did not say a word about the multicultural society. Colleges were free to instruct or to educate their students about intercultural education. At that time there were about eighty colleges. Only a few paid attention to the presence of migrants in society and migrant children in the schools. It depended on the teachers or individual principals. In 1989, only at five colleges was an intercultural course embedded in the curriculum.

At the teacher education colleges for secondary education, nothing special in this field happened for a long time. Nowadays, students can follow some special courses about the backgrounds of migrants and about Dutch as a second language. Universities organize some in-service training courses for subject teachers.

Let us have a closer look at the colleges for teacher education for primary schools. A first fact is that very few teachers are interested in INSET i.e. in-service courses about 'intercultural education'. Attempts by the Ministry of Education in 1988 and 1989 failed due to lack of interest. A second observation is that the number of migrant students at the teacher education colleges is very low. At the public teacher education college in The Hague the number fluctuates around 10 per cent, and from a national perspective this is a very high percentage. Thirdly, the number of migrant teachers at these colleges is low as well. Sometimes two or three out of about forty teachers. Additionally, a State Commission

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established that the knowledge of primary school teachers about developments and backgrounds of migrant children is insufficient.

In 1992, the State University of Leiden started a Delphi-investigation at teacher education colleges about educating teachers in a multiethnic perspective. A panel of specialists were asked about the most desirable situation and the real situation at teacher education colleges. After that investigation, another investigation started at forty-two colleges. The researchers noted that in 1993 the situation had improved: thirty-nine out of forty-two colleges paid attention to Dutch as a second language. Thirty-two of them also pay attention to other cultures. Students of twenty-three colleges have to pay attention (in some way) to the multicultural society during a school practice period; but only at eleven colleges do students have to do a school practice period at a multicultural school for primary education. The last fact has not changed since the situation in 1989. It must be noted, however, that not all colleges have enough schools with migrant children in their area.

The aims of education for teaching in a multicultural society as viewed by specialists, and the reality of the teacher education colleges were examined and compared. At the colleges, most attention is paid to the attitude of the students, immediately followed by their knowledge aims. The specialists, however, think that intercultural communication is a very important goal. A second remarkable difference between the two groups is that at the teacher education colleges, the concern for increasing educational opportunities for ethnic minorities is far less valued than either society or the specialists would like it to be.

One of the most important questions is, what are the (special) demands for a teacher working in a multicultural school, and with what kind of (special) attitudes, skills and knowledge must such a future teacher be equipped? Though a number of colleges had tried to define these competencies, it was only in 1994 that a national discussion started about a national job profile in which one of the task profiles is to describe the tasks of a teacher within a multicultural society.[5] During the same year, the National Educational Advisory Centres had developed attainment targets in this area for the teacher education colleges. These centres also developed four courses about education in a multiethnic perspective, a training programme in intercultural communication, and supervising migrant pupils. Many teacher education colleges accepted the ideas and started with the implemented courses and programme. The teacher education college (PABO) of the Haagse Hogeschool (a polytechnic) did not join because of their special situation and their already developed materials. In the situation of the public teacher education college of the Hague we must take into account that this college is situated in one of the big cities, with an average of 48 per cent of migrant children in general concentrated at the public schools, and with a high concentration of 'black schools' in the inner city. Furthermore, there are special arrangements with the local authorities of the municipality (about the demand for future teachers in the Hague), and special arrangements with the inner city schools in common projects. The following is a sample of the visible efforts of just one of the teacher education colleges:

General

- In the study guide, a non-discrimination code is included.
- An active policy for recruiting non-Dutch students is pursued by the teacher education college, together with the Hogeschool of which the teacher education college is part.
- The college also pursues an active policy against every expression of discrimination and/or racism.
- Every course (forty credit hours) has to pay attention to some extent to the presence of migrants in the schools.
- An agreement with the local authorities that all students who have finished their studies must be competent to teach in the inner city of the Hague.
- In the total curriculum students can choose some voluntary courses, two of which are elementary Turkish, or elementary Arabic.
- Students are encouraged to do their final practice at primary schools in e.g., the former colonies.
- For foreign students there is a three month ERASMUS programme on intercultural education in The Netherlands.
- All second year students have a so-called obligatory work week in Turkey.

Course Content

- In the first year, students are confronted in every course with aspects of intercultural education.
- In the second year, students have at least four weeks of school practice in an inner city school (usually a 'black school'), or in schools with 50–90 per cent non-Dutch children in the areas of educational priority. All school practice tasks are related to these special situations. These students have at the same time an eighty-credit hours' block to spend on aspects of the multicultural society, in which the attitude towards minorities/migrants in Dutch society is emphasized. Non-Dutch students play an active role in this block. During the second year, students make a start with Dutch as a second language which continues into the third year. And finally, students get information about the main world religions in another course.
- In the third year, students can choose out of two courses of which one focuses on cultures and their differences, the history of the home countries, and education systems in the home countries. The second course pays attention to the way in which minority groups develop after migration, their opportunities in education, and ways in which teachers can improve educational achievement in migrant children. During the course year 1994–5, this college started a special course about migrant children and their particular needs. It aims at teaching students to identify 'normal' special needs and special needs directly related to ethnic background.

- Year 4 aims at the integration of theory and practice. Students get a book with tasks to execute in practice. Coming back to the college each week the tasks are discussed. All kinds of elements of intercultural education are incorporated in the tasks and are discussed. Besides this, a special module is spent on 'the effective school movement', and one course where geography and history are integrated is about The Hague as a multicultural city.

We feel that we have accomplished quite a lot, without giving students an overdose. They know when they start their study that they will learn a lot about children from disadvantaged backgrounds. Yet there still remain needs, and each year we try to incorporate elements of intercultural education more firmly within the curriculum. In 1995–6, the college will start with a special final study period in which 'children from disadvantaged backgrounds' will be the central topic.

Comments and Conclusions

First of all, we must realize that the situation of migrants is in a continuous state of evolution. If we look ten or twenty years back, the ideas about migrants and of migrants have clearly changed. This is also true of the integration of migrants, the way they raise their children etc. We also now have a second (and third) generation. One-third of the number of the ethnic minorities is from the second generation. There are two things that have not changed since the 1970s, and these are the high rate of unemployment and the low rate of educational opportunities. That is to say, while opportunities have increased, the educational opportunities for Dutch children have increased twice as much in the same period. If we want to blame education we must recognize that education is only one side of the coin. Dutch researchers (educational sociologists), for example, are concerned to find out whether it is the socio-economic position of the ethnic minorities or the ethnic background which is to be blamed for the low school results of migrant children. In relation to the position of the migrant groups, we must also note that teachers (generally) have a rather static view of the presence of migrants and their backgrounds. Children are subject to the teacher's ideas of the different migrant groups. To give an example: once a teacher learns about the social position of Arabic girls, he/she will with great difficulty change that idea (and related ideas about education opportunities), despite having met other Arabic girls with quite a different behaviour.

It is because of this that a study programme, as mentioned above, has to change to the same degree, which requires a constant alertness on the part of the teachers at the college. Another conclusion is that the national education authorities have a duty to make teachers aware of the need for updating their knowledge (and their attitudes). This is one of the most difficult areas for in-service training courses because of the emotions and prejudices in this area within society.

Another problem in The Netherlands is the relationship between theory and

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practice. Because of the fact that the teacher education colleges are very practical and are not supposed to do any research, there is a gap between practice and theory. Furthermore, before research data are rebuilt into advice on practice it takes years. This problem was encountered when sociolinguists offered their research results on learning a second language. A second area in which research results must be transposed to the practice of teaching is the area of educational anthropology, where much research has been done about the education of migrant children. The last area is that of educational psychology and didactics. The teacher education colleges fail at offering a good didactical strategy to students, based on learning to analyse the class situation. Students need more ideas about learning strategies in general, and specifically about how migrant children learn or must learn at home. In conclusion, it is only the teacher who has sufficient time (or who spends lots of free time) to explore these kinds of research literature and who can make the transition to his/her own practice.

In earlier paragraphs, I suggested that education in The Netherlands was often not prepared for new situations, and although teachers (in the big cities) have nowadays a notion of teaching in multicultural classrooms, they have no idea how to cope with refugee children who are now entering the schools. Teacher education colleges give the same impression. They are not preparing their students for teaching refugee children.

It will therefore cause no surprise if I state that it will take a long time to integrate all these various aspects into the teacher education curriculum, but especially in respect of the attitudes of teachers and students. Special problems will a arise at those education colleges which serve areas where there is a low percentage of migrants. They may feel there is no urgent reason for them to pay the attention which is needed, even though Holland is a small country and every student can move to another town or city and will meet migrants. One of the big dangers in the curriculum is that educating for a plural society is concentrated in just one or more subjects. Nothing is more contrary to the Dutch concept of intercultural education than that. Clearly, it will take time and energy to introduce this concept not only into the curriculum, but also into the attitudes of every college employee. The management will be responsible and for that reason has the task to convince all concerned.

Finally, it must be stated that as long as the Dutch majority is talking *about* but not *with* immigrants, many efforts will be in vain. For teacher education in The Netherlands, the conclusion must be that they have the task of recruiting migrant students and migrant teachers to their institutions, who can communicate in an equal way. As long as there is no real reflection of society within the teacher education colleges, we are divided into 'us' and 'them' camps. Unification in viewpoints is what we aim for.

Notes

1 To understand the position of migrant children in Dutch education, it is necessary to explain somewhat more about the Dutch education system and the changes after

1945. In primary education (age 4–12), children have one teacher for the whole of the course year. In general there are no subject teachers apart sometimes for physical education and for handicrafts.

2 First, most of these mother tongue teachers did not speak Dutch. They were recruited in the migration countries, (Turkey and Morocco). Communication between the school team and the mother tongue teacher was a big problem at many schools. Looking back, there was one advantage by chance. Because of the fact that Holland had an agreement that they appointed the teachers, the authorities (e.g., in Turkey) had no grip on who was going to The Netherlands. Second, in the beginning many teachers supported this kind of education, because these migrants would return anyway, they believed. After several years, Dutch teachers realized that this was not true; people said they would return one day, but in reality they stayed. So mother tongue education was outdated. Children had to learn Dutch from the very beginning. Another contra argument was that the children would miss important lessons in Dutch. The believers in mother tongue education got linguists on their side. They stipulated that the first language had to grow out fully before one could start with a second language. Besides, there was another argument: if children learn their home language well, they are able to communicate with everybody within their own migrant community. In reality the last argument was a fallacy. For example, migrant students at our teacher education college admit that they speak a certain kind of mother tongue. But of they are going back to their home country (e.g., on holiday), they find that their language is at a very elementary level. They call it a 'childish level'.

3 In secondary education (age 12–16/18) there are only subject teachers, and in the beginning years a tutor.

4 Teacher education in the Netherlands is divided in three separate levels of education: for primary education, secondary education and higher professional education for the higher grades of secondary education. Teachers for vocational education are generally specialists in their profession who have qualified themselves with special courses.

Teacher education colleges (particularly those for primary education) are small compared with other countries — between 300 and 800 day students. It is of importance to note that these colleges have a different organization than in many other countries. Emphasised in the programme are the professional skills. Knowledge must be acquired in some seventeen subjects, which is comparatively not as extenstive as for subject teachers. During the four years of study, some thirty-six weeks must be spent in school practice, spread over the four years, although there are ministerial plans for concentrating a lot of training time in the last year.

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Chapter 12

Educating Teachers for Cultural Diversity in the United States

Ken Zeichner

In this comprehensive review of US research on preparing teachers for cultural diversity in a changing demographic context, Professor Zeichner outlines a very wide range of strategies but disappointingly equivocal outcomes.

Recent demographic changes in the United States have led to an increasing gap between the backgrounds of teachers in public schools and their pupils. The student population in public schools (around 43.5 million) has become increasingly diverse, and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.[1] It is predicted that about 40 per cent of the nation's school-age youth will be 'students of colour' by the year 2020 (Pallas, Natriello and McDill, 1989).[2] Already, students of colour comprise about 30 per cent of public school students in the US, are the majority in twenty-five of the nation's fifty largest school districts (Banks, 1991), and are the majority in schools in a few states like New Mexico, Texas, and California (Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990). In the twenty largest school districts, students of colour comprise over 70 per cent of the total school enrolment, (Center for Education Statistics, 1987).

These students of colour are more likely to be poor, hungry, in poor health, and to drop out of school than their white counterparts (Children's Defense Fund, 1991). The failure of American public schools to enable all children to receive a high quality education regardless of their race, ethnic, and social class background represents a major crisis in US education, and is clearly in conflict with expressed purposes of education in a democratic society (Bestian, Fruchter, Gittel, Greer, and Haskins, 1985; Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, 1989).

The composition of the teacher education student and teacher groups is in sharp contrast to that of public school pupils. Several recent studies have shown that teacher education students are overwhelmingly white, monolingual, from a rural, or suburban community, and come to their teacher education programmes with very little direct intercultural experience (AACTE, 1987, 1989; Gomez, 1994), even in states like California with much cultural diversity (Ahlquist, 1991). The lack of diversity among prospective teachers is similar to that for the in-service teaching corps of about 2.5 million, where about 12–14 per cent are nonwhite (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Grant and Secada, 1990).

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According to recent studies (AACTE, 1987, 1989), only about 15 per cent of teacher education students would like to teach in urban areas. Zimpher (1989) concluded in her analysis of some of these data that there appears to be a general affinity among pre-service teacher education students to teach students who are like themselves, in communities which are familiar to them. Two-thirds of the white teacher education students surveyed in the AACTE/Metropolitan Life survey of teacher education students across the US (AACTE, 1990) indicated that they would not like to teach in a situation with limited English proficient students. According to Howey (1992), the majority of teacher education students nationally report that they are neither well prepared nor disposed to teach ethnic and language minority children.

Recent research has shown that many teacher education students come to their teacher preparation programmes viewing student diversity as a problem rather than as a resource, that their conceptions of diversity are highly individualistic, (e.g., focusing on personality factors like motivation, and ignoring contextual factors such as ethnicity), that their ability to talk about student differences in thoughtful and comprehensive ways is very limited (e.g., Birrell, 1993; Paine, 1989), and that they often feel uncomfortable about personal contact with ethnic and language minority parents (Larke, Wiseman and Bradley, 1990). These students generally have very little knowledge about different cultural groups in the US (e.g., Lauderdale and Deaton, 1993), and often have negative attitudes about cultural groups other than their own.

Although these demographic characteristics and attitudes have led to a focus in the literature on the recruitment of more teachers of colour into US public schools (Villegas *et al.*, 1995) and on the preparation of white teachers to teach poor children of colour, it cannot be assumed that teachers of colour are culturally affiliated with their students (Gay, 1993), or that they can necessarily translate their cultural knowledge into culturally relevant pedagogy and success for their pupils, (Montecinos, 1994). The issue of educating teachers for cultural diversity in the US needs to be considered as one of educating all teachers to teach all students to the same high academic standards.

While it may be possible for the factors discussed above to be remedied by pre-service teacher education programmes, the likelihood is that they are not adequately addressed by most teacher education programmes as they are currently organized. Although research on teacher learning has demonstrated that teacher education programmes, under certain conditions, are able to have an influence on certain aspects of teacher development (e.g., Borko and Putnam, in press), the empirical evidence overwhelmingly supports a view of pre-service teacher education as a weak intervention that fails to develop cultural sensitivity and intercultural teaching competence among teachers (Zeichner, in press). There is currently a serious shortage of teachers in most urban school districts in the US (Haberman, 1987), and the growth of an alternative teacher certification system outside of colleges and universities that has demonstrated an ability to draw people into teaching in urban schools (Stoddart and Floden, in press).

Teacher Education for Cultural Diversity

There are over 1,200 colleges and universities in the US that have teacher education programmes. Although some pre-service teacher education takes place during a postgraduate year following the completion of an initial degree in an academic subject area, most of the pre-service teacher education in the US occurs at the undergraduate level and is four or five years long. When one examines the people and the institutions associated with pre-service teacher education in the US the task of preparing teachers for cultural diversity appears to be very complex, and points toward the development of strategies for reform that go beyond the introduction of particular curricula or instructional strategies into existing teacher education institutions with existing students.

Recent studies of teacher educators and teacher education institutions in the US have shown that as a group, American university and college teacher educators reflect the same cultural insularity that is present among teacher education students. There are very few faculty of colour involved in US pre-service teacher education programmes (Ducharme and Agne, 1989; Howey and Zimpher, 1990), and many faculty lack the same interracial and intercultural experience as their students. Haberman (1987), for example, claims that fewer than 5 per cent of the 45,000 or so teacher education faculty in the US have taught for even a year in a large urban school district.

This situation of teacher education faculty, together with the lack of students of colour in teacher education programmes, makes the task of educating teachers for cultural diversity especially difficult, because of the importance of a culturally diverse learning community to the development of intercultural teaching competence (Hixson, 1991).

In addition to the limitations posed by the cultural insularity of the teacher education faculty, there is often also a general lack of a broad institutional commitment to diversity in the college and university environments in which teacher education programmes are located (Grant, 1993). Such things as an institution's hiring practices, student recruitment and admissions policies, and curricular programmes, are evidence of the degree of an institution's commitment to diversity. Making issues of diversity central to the intellectual life of a college or university community legitimizes efforts within programmes to educate teachers for diversity (Villegas, 1993).

Given the complexity of the task of educating teachers in the US for cultural diversity, teacher educators have focused on three different kinds of strategies for improving the ability of American teacher education programmes to educate teachers for everybody's children: (a) strategies related to the *admission* of students into teacher education programmes; (b) strategies related to *curriculum and instruction* within teacher education programmes; and (c) strategies for *changing the institutions* in which teacher education is located. This chapter will summarize the empirical evidence related to the efficacy of the reform strategies in each of these three arenas. But first, in the foregoing section, I will sketch a summary of the major dimensions along which US teacher education for diversity has varied.

Dimensions of Teacher Education for Diversity

The task of preparing all teachers to teach a diverse student body is not a new concern in US teacher education. However, despite the long history of efforts to develop teacher education reforms that address issues of inequality and diversity in US schools (e.g., Smith, 1969), preparing teachers for diversity has not been high on the agenda of most US teacher educators. For example, few of the numerous national reports that assess the state of US teacher education have given significant attention to the need to prepare teachers for cultural diversity or to issues of educational inequality. Exceptions to this general neglect are the recent reports of the Holmes Group, a consortium of over eighty research universities focusing on teacher education reform (Holmes Group, 1990, 1995).

Despite the marginalization of teacher education for cultural diversity by the teacher education research community (Grant and Secada, 1990), a number of different strategies have been employed in an attempt to better prepare teachers to teach all students to high academic standards. These strategies can be distinguished from one another according to the positions they reflect in relation to four dimensions.

First, teacher education for cultural diversity (TECD) strategies involve either the *infusion* of multicultural content throughout a programme's curriculum; or a *segregated* approach which treats cultural diversity as a topic for a single course or a few courses, while most programme components remain unconcerned with issues of diversity. Despite a clear preference for the infusion approach by scholars of multicultural teacher education, the segregated approach is clearly the dominant model in use (Ladson-Billings, 1995). It is very common for coursework related to cultural diversity to be optional rather than compulsory beyond a basic introductory course (Gay, 1986), and for multicultural content to be addressed by only a few faculty.

The concern for the integration of issues related to cultural diversity throughout the entire curriculum of a teacher education programme is a specific case of the more general position that curriculum designs in teacher education should represent an outgrowth of shared conceptions of teaching, learning, and schooling among faculty (Barnes, 1987). Issues related to cultural diversity, like many other aspects of the teacher education curriculum, have suffered from the fragmentation and lack of curricular cohesiveness that has historically plagued teacher education programmes in US colleges and universities. With regard to multicultural teacher education, the lack of curricular cohesiveness is a reflection of various structural barriers to infusion, such as the absence of incentives and rewards for teacher education curriculum development work and the lack of expertise about diversity among faculty (Clifford and Guthrie, 1988; Liston and Zeichner, 1991).

A second dimension along which TECD efforts vary is with regard to the attention they give to *culture-specific* or *culture-general* socialization strategies. In a culture-specific approach, the emphasis is on preparing teachers to teach particular students in specific contexts. Examples of this approach are the '*American Indian*

Reservation Project' and '*Teachers for Alaska*', which both primarily prepare teachers for work in particular Native American communities (Mahan, 1993; Noordhoff and Kleinfeld, 1993). In a culture-general approach, the concern is to prepare teachers to be successful in any context that involves cross-cultural interactions, with a focus on developing teaching competence with a variety of different cultural groups. An example of this approach is the '*Teach for Diversity*' programme at the University of Wisconsin-Madison which prepares elementary teachers for work in multicultural rural and urban settings (Zeichner and Miller, in press).

A third dimension along which TECD efforts vary is the degree to which they emphasize *interacting with cultures* as opposed to *studying about cultures*. While many programmes that seek to prepare teachers to teach diverse students probably include some direct field experience in diverse schools and communities, programmes vary according to how much contact they provide for their students with pupils and adults from different backgrounds. On the one hand, some programmes are mostly college and university-based, and include only the minimally required number of hours in school placements; or only placements in schools serving families and students with backgrounds similar to those of the student teachers. At the other extreme are those programmes which require extensive school and community experiences with students and families with backgrounds different from those of the student teachers. In some cases, student teachers are required to live in a 'culturally different' community, and to do substantial community work as part of their student teaching (Zeichner and Melnick, 1995).

A fourth dimension along which TECD efforts vary is the degree to which the *teacher education programme itself* is a model of the cultural inclusiveness and cultural responsiveness that is so often advocated for K-12 schools. On the one hand, truly multicultural teacher education efforts are responsive to, and build upon, the diverse backgrounds, life experiences, learning style preferences, and conceptions of teaching brought to the programme by prospective teachers. Here, student teachers are actively engaged in constructing their own education for teaching, and the programme responds to varied student needs. At the other end of the continuum, multicultural teacher education is transmitted to prospective teachers in an additive manner with little regard for student backgrounds and experiences. Here teacher education students are put in the position of being passive recipients of knowledge *about* a culturally responsive approach to teaching, but they do not get to experience this approach in their own education for teaching.

TECD Strategies

As indicated earlier, three kinds of strategies have been employed by teacher educators in the US in attempts to better prepare teachers for cultural diversity.

1. *Admission into Teacher Education Programmes*

The first set of strategies is concerned with the *admission* of students into teacher education programmes. Here, teacher educators like Haberman (1991; 1993) have argued that typical teacher education students who are young, inexperienced and culturally encapsulated, are not developmentally ready to make the kinds of adjustments needed for successful cross-cultural teaching. Haberman and others are pessimistic about the likelihood that pre-service teacher education can become a powerful enough intervention to change the attitudes and dispositions developed over a lifetime that teacher education students bring to teacher education programmes.

Nieto (1992) argues that becoming a multicultural teacher involves becoming a multicultural person. This process of becoming a multicultural person needs to include, according to some, the abandonment of racism and the development of non-racist identities (Tatum, 1992). Given the cultural encapsulation that characterizes teacher education students across the US, it seems unreasonable to many to expect teacher education programmes as they are now constituted, with their fragmented curricula and low status in the institutions that house them, to overcome the cultural limitations posed by the anticipatory socialization of prospective teachers. There is much work going on in the US to rethink the criteria that are used to admit students into teacher education programmes. An interview developed by Haberman (1991) to screen teacher education candidates is an example of this work. Haberman (1991) has identified factors such as organizational ability and physical and emotional stamina which he thinks predicts who will be successful teachers in diverse urban schools.

The research evidence on the low socializing impact of pre-service teacher education programmes (e.g., Zeichner and Gore, 1990) supports the view that instead of relying solely on grade point averages, test scores and the glowing testimony of young college students wanting to be teachers because they love kids, we have to find ways as Haberman (1991) has argued to focus more on picking the right people rather than on trying to change the wrong ones through teacher education. Despite the increased concern in the US for rethinking admissions criteria in the light of the cultural diversity in US schools, there are pressures in many private institutions against turning any students and their tuition money away from teacher education programmes. These pressures to include anyone who has money to pay and a reasonable academic history, are particularly great in times such as the present when problems in the economy are causing a budget crisis in many US colleges and universities.

2. *Curriculum and Instruction Strategies*

Another set of strategies is concerned with the *socialization* of teacher education students within pre-service teacher education programmes.[3] These are: building

high expectations among prospective teachers for the learning of all students; increasing the knowledge of prospective teachers about themselves and their place in a multicultural society; providing prospective teachers with cultural knowledge about the experiences, lifestyles and contributions of various groups in society; and providing teachers with opportunities to develop competence in building relationships and in teaching strategies that will help them to succeed in schools serving children and families with backgrounds different than their own.

(a) *Building High Expectations*

One of the most common elements addressed in TECD is the expectation that teacher education students hold for pupils. Some have argued (e.g., Delpit, 1995) that the educational failure of many ethnic and language minority students in the US is less a matter of the failure of teachers to use particular teaching strategies than it is of teachers' fundamentally negative feelings toward and low expectations for the learning of these students. Given a widespread problem of low teacher expectations for the learning of ethnic and language minority students (Goodlad, 1990), many have concluded that instruction in the use of culturally relevant teaching strategies by itself, is an inadequate response to the task of preparing teachers to teach all students. There is a growing consensus among teacher educators that ways must be found to help prospective teachers re-examine and reconsider the negative assumptions about students and their families that many bring to their teacher education programmes.

One strategy used by teacher educators to counter the low expectations that prospective teachers hold for some pupils is to expose them, either through readings or by direct contact, to examples of successful teaching for ethnic and language minority pupils. This exposure to cases of success is often supplemented by helping prospective teachers examine ways in which schools help structure inequality through various practices in curriculum, instruction, grouping, and assessment.

Another way in which teacher educators have attempted to counter low expectations and to give prospective teachers a framework for organizing classroom learning environments is to give attention in the teacher education curriculum to sociocultural research on the relationships among language, culture, and learning, including research about language acquisition and second language learning. This body of research has convincingly demonstrated the superiority of a situational, as opposed to a stable trait view of intelligence and competence, which sees behaviour as a function of the context of which it is a part (Cazden and Mehan, 1990). Research conducted from a sociocultural perspective has provided many examples of the successful teaching of ethnic and language minority students, (e.g., Tharp and Gallimore, 1988). An example of this general strategy in teacher education is the recent requirement in California that all prospective teachers receive instruction in research related to language acquisition.

(b) *Fostering Bonding with Students*

The literature is clear about the importance to the goal of 'Education for All' of creating classroom contexts in which all students feel valued and capable of academic success, (e.g., Cummins, 1986). Comer (1988) and Ladson-Billings (1994) among others, have argued that a key to the creation of these inclusive classrooms is the personal bonds that develop between teachers and their pupils. With the achievement of the personal bonding advocated in the literature, teachers stop seeing students with diverse backgrounds as 'the others', and begin to address the psychological and social development of learners along with their academic development. It is felt that if pupils do not attach and bond to the people and the programme of the school, less adequate learning will take place.

Examples of strategies used by teacher educators to foster the bonding between teachers and their culturally diverse pupils, include mentorship programmes that involve relationships between prospective teachers and individual pupils over several semesters (e.g., Larke, Wiseman and Bradley, 1990), and also various kinds of field experiences which take prospective teachers into the homes and communities of their pupils, (e.g., Mahan, Fortney and Garcia, 1983).

(c) *Increasing Self-knowledge*

One of the places that TECD often begins is with helping teacher education students to better understand themselves, and to develop more clarified ethnic and cultural identities: to see themselves as cultural beings in a multicultural society. There is a consensus in the literature that the development of one's own cultural identity is a necessary precursor to cross-cultural understanding (Hildago, 1993). The recognition of the degree to which we are culture-bound facilitates the leap into the cultural perspectives of others (Mahan and Rains, 1990).

Examples of approaches to helping prospective teachers locate themselves in relation to the cultural diversity of the US involve the work of those like King and Ladson-Billings (1990), Gomez and Tabachnick (1991), and Hollins (1990). All of these use the construction of autobiography and life history narratives as vehicles for helping student teachers deepen their understanding of their own cultural identities, and their connections to the social context of life experienced by different groups in the US.

A next step according to some teacher educators (e.g., Banks, 1991), is to help prospective teachers learn more about and then to re-examine the attitudes and values they hold toward ethnic and racial groups other than their own. Teacher educators who have written about their efforts to help their students re-examine their attitudes and beliefs about various ethnic and racial groups have stressed the importance to the process of attitude change of both intellectual challenge and social support that comes from being in a group of teacher education students, (e.g., Gomez and Tabachnick, 1991; Young, 1993). A cohesive student cohort group in which students stay in close contact with each other and with particular faculty over a period of time is often cited as a critical

element in attitude change, (e.g., Nelson-Barber and Mitchell, 1992). Even with the existence of these collaborative learning environments, however, the process of helping prospective teachers confront their often negative attitudes toward other groups is often a very difficult one in which teacher education students sometimes resist the efforts of teacher educators to help them examine their attitudes towards 'others', (McCormick, 1993). There is substantial evidence in the literature that more than conventional college and university classes are needed to foster self-examination and to avoid simply reinforcing the prejudices and misconceptions that students bring to their teacher education programmes (Zeichner, in press).

(d) *Providing Cultural Knowledge*

Another strategy used by teacher educators is to try to overcome the lack of knowledge among many teacher education students about the histories of different cultural groups, and their participation in, and contribution toward, the making of the nation. It is felt by some that an ethnic studies component in teacher education programmes as well as exposing teacher education students to minority group perspectives on US history can do much to prevent mistakes by prospective teachers that are rooted in cultural ignorance, and to cause prospective teachers to re-examine their views of the world (e.g., Ellwood, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1991).

Another part of this strategy is to provide students with information about some of the unique characteristics and learning styles of students from different groups. However, because these are general characteristics not limited to specific cultural groups or necessarily applicable to individual learners in specific classrooms, many have argued that we need to be careful to avoid stereotyped responses to students as members of groups which ignore individual characteristics (McDiarmid and Price, 1990). A necessary supplement to providing information about general group characteristics is teaching teachers how to learn about their own students, and then how to incorporate into their instruction information about students, their families and communities (Au and Kawakami, 1994; Garcia, 1993).

An important complement to teachers' examinations of the cultural traditions and resources brought to school by their pupils is study of the culture of their classrooms. It is felt by many (e.g., Villegas, 1991) that teachers need to be taught how to examine the particular traditions and rules that govern classroom life, such as the implicit rules that govern classroom discourse and participation in classroom activities, and how to broaden classroom cultures to be more inclusive of the different cultural resources brought to school by pupils.

(e) *Case-based Teaching*

Another strategy used to prepare teachers for cultural diversity involves the reading and/or writing of cases by prospective teachers. Teacher educators have

argued that cases are uniquely situated in the analysis of the complex and often emotionally charged issues of teaching in culturally unfamiliar contexts. They believe that cases can help prospective teachers to confront their own assumptions and feelings about teaching diverse students and to interpret the social meaning of unfamiliar cultural events (e.g., Kleinfeld, 1989; Shulman, 1992).

Although the literature on case-based teaching in teacher education has provided some evidence that the use of cases has helped develop greater cultural sensitivity among prospective teachers, Shulman (1992) warns that the use of cases that involve issues of cultural diversity will not, by itself, lead to greater intercultural teaching competence. She argues that the cultural sensitivity of the teacher educators, and their skill in facilitating discussions about very complex and emotionally charged issues is the key element in determining how useful cases will be in furthering the goals of TECD. Given the limited intercultural teaching experience of most teacher educators in the US, the use of cases to prepare teachers for diversity, without efforts to increase the cultural competence of teacher educators or to bring more culturally competent instructors into the community of teacher educators, is not likely to accomplish much.

(f) *School and Community Field Experiences*

Perhaps the most common strategy advocated in the literature for preparing teachers for cultural diversity is field experiences that put teacher education students in direct contact with pupils and adults with cultural backgrounds different from their own. These experiences range from relatively brief experiences and guided reflection activities associated with particular courses (e.g., Tran, Young and DiLella, 1994), to full-scale community immersion experiences where prospective teachers live and teach over an extended period of time in culturally different communities (Mahan, Fortney and Garcia, 1983).

One type of field experience involves brief periods of volunteer work in social service agencies (e.g., Beyer, 1991), and is designed to help prospective teachers confront poverty in a direct way. Other direct experiences include the required completion of a number of practicum and student teaching experiences in schools serving students with backgrounds different from those of the prospective teachers, (e.g., Ross, Johnson and Smith, 1991). Another type of cross-cultural field experience is the overseas student teaching experience, where US teacher education students live and teach in another country for a portion of their student teaching (Mahan and Stachowski, 1985).

Completing practicum experiences and student teaching in schools serving pupils with cultural backgrounds different from that of prospective teachers is, to many educators, an inadequate preparation for cross-cultural teaching unless these experiences extend out into the community. Many have argued over the years that the centre of gravity of teacher education programmes needs to shift to the community, and that teachers need to become more community conscious, (e.g., Cuban, 1969). Over the years, there have been many different

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kinds of community experiences used in pre-service teacher education programmes, ranging from very brief experiences to semester-long immersion experiences (Mungo, 1980; Mahan, Fortney and Garcia, 1983; Zeichner and Melnick, 1995).

Despite the widespread support for the idea of school and community field experiences in diverse settings, it has been found that under some conditions these experiences serve to strengthen and legitimate the very prejudices and stereotypes they were designed to correct (e.g., Haberman and Post, 1992). Certain conditions appear to be needed in these experiences to avoid these consequences. These include careful preparation of students for the experience, careful monitoring of students' work in the field, and also time during the experience for student-teacher reflection. Also, the people who supervise cross-cultural field experiences should have had successful teaching experience themselves in the kinds of communities in which student teachers are working (Zeichner and Melnick, 1995). It has also been found that the use of people from the community before and during the experience as cultural informants helps minimize the reinforcement of stereotypes (Mahan, 1993).

(g) *The Effectiveness of Different Instructional Strategies*

In general, the empirical evidence regarding the success of these different strategies for TECD is very weak. On the one hand, some studies (e.g., Haberman and Post, 1992) have underlined the impotence of pre-service teacher education in overcoming the anticipatory socialization of culturally encapsulated prospective teachers, and have shown that teacher education largely strengthens and reinforces the stereotypes and prejudices that students bring to teacher education programmes.

On the other hand, some research (e.g., Beyer, 1991; Hollins, 1990) contradicts this pessimistic view, and suggests that certain personal changes (e.g., greater openmindedness, and sensitivity to cultural differences, greater knowledge of cultural diversity in the US) results from the use of certain teacher education strategies under particular conditions. Whether or not the reported changes in knowledge about diversity and cultural sensitivity in the short run, are associated with long lasting impact on their world views, values, dispositions and on their teaching practices is still an open question. Very little evidence exists in the literature that the changes in cultural sensitivity documented by teacher educators are long-lasting, or that they actually influence the way in which prospective teachers teach and how successful they are with diverse pupils. There is a consensus among teacher educators that TECD needs to go beyond the development of greater cultural sensitivity, and address the issue of intercultural teaching competence. Generally, we know very little about the development of teacher education students' beliefs, and skills with respect to cultural diversity (Grant and Secada, 1990), and about what makes the difference between experiences that reinforce stereotypes and the ones that lead to the reexamination of stereotypes.

3. *Changing the Institutional Context of Teacher Education*

At least four different approaches have been used in trying to strengthen the institutional context of teacher education with regard to issues of cultural diversity. The first is the active recruitment of faculty of colour, and faculty with more varied cultural experiences through the establishment of programmes at colleges and universities that contain incentives for diversifying teacher education faculties. In the last decade, many attempts have been made to diversify teacher education faculties, with little visible result (Jordan-Irvine, 1992).

A second approach is the creation of a consortium, where a group of institutions combine their resources to hire staff with expertise in TECD to provide part of the teacher education programme for students from the member institutions at one common location. The 'Urban Education programme' of the Associated Colleges of the Midwest (ACM) in Chicago, for example, employs a staff of four people not directly associated with the colleges and with roots in the local community, whose expertise is in teacher education for diversity. This programme, which has existed since the Fall of 1963, has provided courses in multicultural education and in instruction for limited English proficient students, and school and community field experiences in Chicago for hundreds of prospective teachers from the fourteen liberal arts colleges in the consortium (Melnick and Zeichner, in press). Other examples of consortia that have emphasized the preparation of teachers for cultural diversity include the '*Cooperative Teacher Education programme*' (CUTE) and the '*Urban Education*' semester of the Venture Consortium (Levine and Pignattelli, 1994; McCormick, 1990).

While there is a lack of empirical data about the long-term impact of these programmes, there is some evidence from the CUTE programme that its graduates choose to teach in greater proportions than other graduates in inner-city urban schools, and that they have consistently been ranked higher in teaching competence than other graduates by principals (Soptick and Clothier, 1974). There is also evidence from interviews with graduates of the ACM '*Urban Education programme*' that the programme has been able to prepare teachers who choose to teach in, and can be successful in, urban schools (Melnick and Zeichner, in press).

A third approach to strengthening the institutional context of teacher education with regard to issues of cultural diversity involves the systematic staff development for teacher education faculty on various aspects of TECD. For example, the Multicultural Education Infusion Center at San Diego State University has provided teams of faculty from various teacher education institutions across the country with two-week intensive courses and follow-up experiences that were designed to help teacher educators develop plans to improve the capacity for TECD within their institutions. Also, the Association of Teacher Educators and George Mason University have offered a series of three-day courses around the country for school and university teacher educators focused on language-related issues in the preparation of teachers. To date, no evidence has been presented in the literature related to the impact of these

and similar staff development initiatives on teacher education faculty and programmes.

A fourth approach to improving the institutional capacity for TECD is the formation of partnership agreements between predominantly white teacher education institutions, and schools and school districts in areas with large numbers of ethnic and language minority pupils. The '*American Indian Reservation*' and '*Latino Cultural Immersion*' projects of Indiana University (Mahan, Fortney and Garcia, 1983), and the partnership between Moorhead University in Minnesota and the San Juan-Alamo School District in south Texas (Cooper, Beare and Thorman, 1990) are examples of these partnerships. While there is some evidence in reports of these partnerships that student teachers' attitudes toward others become more positive, no information is provided about how the partnerships have affected the teaching of participants.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the issue of preparing teachers for cultural diversity in the US, by providing a brief overview of research literature that identifies strategies used by pre-service teacher educators in three areas:

- the *admission* of students into teacher education programmes;
- the *socialization* of prospective teachers within teacher education programmes; and
- the *institutional contexts* in which teacher education is carried out.

This review also identified four dimensions along which all teacher education programmes vary with regard to issues of cultural diversity.

Although there is some evidence in the research reviewed for this chapter with regard to practices that facilitate a greater knowledge level about cultural diversity and greater cultural sensitivity among pre-service teachers, there is very little evidence about practices and strategies that enable the development of greater intercultural *teaching competence*. A priority for teacher educators in the US should be to investigate how particular kinds of teacher education experiences and programmes are related to the character and quality of the teaching of programme graduates. Does the teaching of people who have completed particular kinds of experiences in teacher education programmes look any different from that of other teachers? How does the impact of particular teacher education experiences affect teachers over the long term? At this point, there is little research that addresses these kinds of questions. Much of the important research remains to be done.

In carrying out this research, it should be recognized that much of the most interesting work in teacher education in the US is done by teacher educators who do not write about it. Because of the heavy teaching loads of most teacher educators (in comparison with faculty in other areas even within Schools of

Education) (Schneider, 1987), and the lack of institutional support for research about teacher education, many of the most successful practices in TECD remain undocumented. Ways must be found to make more visible and to systematically document the practices that are now known mostly through informal teacher educator networks.

Finally, it is very likely that the fate of TECD in the US will be tied to the success of current efforts to raise the status of teacher education in colleges and universities, (e.g., Holmes Group, 1995). Unless ways can be found to provide greater incentives for teacher education faculty to invest time and energy in programme development work and work with schools and communities, and adequate resources to support programmes, very little will probably be accomplished with regard to TECD. The preparation of teachers to educate all students in today's culturally diverse US will only be achieved by first creating the institutional conditions that are supportive of high quality teacher education programmes. The difficult task of preparing teachers who are culturally sensitive and interculturally competent requires much more than a supportive climate for teacher education, but cannot be accomplished without it.

Notes

1 In this chapter, cultural diversity refers to differences related to race, ethnicity, social class and language.
2 'Students of colour' in the US context refers mainly to African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Native Americans.
3 For a detailed review of these socialization strategies see Zeichner (in press), and Zeichner and Hoeft (in press).

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Chapter 13

Comparative Perspectives and Paradigms

Keith Watson

This concluding review places the concerns of previous chapters in the broader context of comparative analysis and educational provision in plural societies, noting the need for more research into teacher education's role.

The violent disintegration of the former Soviet Union, the break-up of the former Yugoslavia into warring states, the genocide that has occurred in Burundi and Rwanda, Liberia and Sierra Leone have all helped to concentrate people's attention on the complex inter-ethnic mixture that has been the hallmark of many twentieth century nation states. Yet while it is now increasingly (and perhaps begrudgingly) recognized that all but a handful of the world's societies, in the shape of nation states, are to a greater or lesser extent plural, either in terms of language, religion or ethnicity, it is surprising that this phenomenon has only truly become a focus for comparative education studies in the past fifteen to twenty years. Surprising, because as Farrell (1979) has pointed out, 'there can be no generalising scientific study of education which is not the comparative study of education.' He goes on to say,

> Comparative education is one of several fields of enquiry which attempts to study a class of phenomena usually called education, which seeks to explain the complex web of interrelationships which can be observed within education systems and between education systems and other kinds of systems. (op.cit.)

Moreover, Raivola (1985) has argued that because no general conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of any single situation, 'all research that seeks to offer general explanations must be comparative.' It follows, therefore, that since most of the world's education systems operate within a pluralist framework any attempt to develop general propositions relating to these systems should, *pari passu*, be based on comparative insights.

While it is now fair to argue that education in culturally/ethnically plural societies has become a subset of comparative studies in education and, as a result, can offer particular perspectives its late arrival on the scene needs to be analysed. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to show why comparative analyses of

education in plural societies came about so late; to explore the different approaches and paradigms adopted by comparativists; and to examine some of the insights thrown up by comparative studies, especially as these apply to the place of teacher education in plural societies.

Why the Delayed Interest in Comparative Studies?

Given the pluralist nature of most of the world's countries, it is perhaps surprising to an outsider that comparative educationists failed to see this as a crucial field of inquiry until the late 1970s. However, an examination of the development of comparative studies perhaps places this into perpective, (Arnove, Altbach and Kelly, 1992; Brock, 1986; Kay and Watson, 1982; Watson, 1995). Not only were the early years of the subject as a subdiscipline of education (e.g., the 1950s/60s) fraught with debates about definitions—so that Arnove, Altbach and Kelly (1992) saw it as 'a field in search of a distinct identity', or 'a loosely-bounded field held together largely by a belief that education can serve and bring about improvements in society, and that lessons can be learnt from developments in other societies' (ibid., p. 1); but there were also concerns about what should be the focus of study, and whether or not there was such a thing as a comparative method (Bereday, 1965; Holmes, 1965; Noah and Eckstein, 1969). As a result, much of the early work undertaken in the field of comparative education comprised either largely historical and descriptive accounts of educational administration, policy and structures in particular nation states (e.g., Hans, 1949; Kandel, 1933; Mallinson, 1975), or it was introspectively concerned with developing a 'comparative method' (Bereday, op.cit.; Holmes, op.cit.; Noah and Eckstein, op.cit.). Should comparative studies be concerned with one country only or with more than one country? Should they be concerned with school systems and their interaction with society, politics, the labour market and socio-economic development; or should they be concerned with subsystems, e.g., primary schooling, teacher training, higher education, technical and vocational education? In any case, should researchers be concerned with the *processes* of education (i.e., what happens *in* schools or colleges) or with measurable *outcomes* (i.e., the numbers of graduates, employment opportunities etc.)? Moreover, should the focus of interest be the nation state or regional groupings, with testing hypotheses or with drawing conclusions from a study of many different societies?

A further complication arose because in the UK and Europe especially, there was a clear distinction between comparative education, international education, and education in developing countries. *Comparative* education (CE) was largely concerned with the description and analysis of education systems, and related fields, in the industrial societies of the world, whether capitalist or centralized socialist command economies. While it was recognized that countries like Belgium, Canada and Switzerland had particular language problems that needed to be addressed, it was felt that most western societies had no educational problems arising from 'pluralism'. Assimilationist educational policies

were accepted as the norm, even in the context of the United States. As for recognition that Europe contained many minority groups (e.g., Giner and Saledo, 1978; Krejci, 1978), these did not impinge upon educational policies and underlying philosophical assumptions. Even in studies of the USSR, while there was a recognition that it encompassed over 130 different minority nationalities, there was little acknowledgment of the diversity of the Republics, (e.g., Kazakhstan alone had/has over one hundred different nationalities/ethnic groupings), and there was only passing observance that they constituted any problem within the education system. After all, minorities had constitutional guarantees in respect of linguistic and cultural rights; and since the emphasis in Soviet education was on uniformity, nation-building, developing the new Soviet man through a Marxist-Leninist ideology and curriculum, it was these aspects that were stressed in the comparative education texts. Cultural and ethnic pluralism was merely mentioned in passing.

International education (IE) was to a great extent rooted in organizations like UNESCO, concerned with improving international understanding and awareness and of encouraging academic interchange.[1] *Education in developing countries* (EDC) on the other hand, was largely concerned with the practical development of education systems in those countries which had gained their independence from colonial rule in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. As more and more countries became independent and became a focus for international aid agencies, it was inevitable that the distinctions between CE and EDC would become blurred, and in due course many UK institutions embraced all the fields under the epithet 'Comparative and International'. For example, the British Comparative Education Society in Europe was redesignated the British Comparative *and* International Education Society (BCIES) in 1979. This was more than a semantic change, however, for it became clearly recognized that most of the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) of the former French and British empires were distinctively plural — ethnically, tribally, linguistically, religiously and culturally — and that any comparative studies of these societies would need to take this into account. Even so, initial concerns were to develop and expand the existing education systems and to see these in terms of *nation-building*.

In spite of the debates of the 1960s to develop a scientific method for comparison or to develop scientific laws arising from comparative analyses, the most influential comparative research paradigms of the 1950s and 1960s were those of structural-functionalism. This focuses on the belief that education is beneficial for socio-economic development, that a function of education is to reproduce the cultural values of the past while at the same time producing an educated labour force for the future. The result was that comparative studies tended to concentrate on the underlying philosophical and political assumptions which helped to shape education systems, and sought to analyse educational structures, administrative frameworks and educational reforms, especially in the areas of examinations and curriculum reform. However, changes were taking place and the structural-functionalist assumptions began to be challenged both at a theoretical level as well as at a practical level in the late 1960s/early 1970s.

At the theoretical level there were critics who felt that comparative education had been too concerned with social, political and *economic* outcomes, rather than with *educational* outcomes and, as a result, had failed to write about and encourage the need for educational reforms, (e.g., Apple, 1978; Paulston, 1976). Others argued that western-type school systems, far from modernizing societies, were guilty of maintaining the political and social status quo, (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Carnoy, 1974), and that unless society and the political economy were reformed, educational reforms were meaningless. The growing disparities between the High Income and Low Income countries also spawned the views that modern education led to dependency and to a form of neo-colonial control (Altbach, 1971, 1977; Carnoy, op.cit.). Comparative studies should highlight in what ways this control was exercised. Other critics began to press for comparative studies to become more aware of the disadvantaged groups in society, those who were dispossessed and discriminated against on grounds of gender, class or ethnicity/race (e.g., Kelly and Mihlan, 1982). Instead of seeing school systems as monolithic and benefitting the few, comparativists should concentrate on how school systems disadvantaged ethnic and female groups in society.

There was ample evidence for these views to be found in LDCs, but what brought things to a head were certain practical developments in the western world. Firstly, was the realization that the USA, Canada, Australia and many parts of Western Europe were becoming increasingly plural, ethnically, linguistically and religiously, as a result of immigration. Existing attitudes to schooling, not least through the curriculum, began to be seen as outmoded for newly pluralist societies. Secondly, the defeat of the USA at the hands of the Vietcong in 1975 shattered the illusions that western democratic systems, as well as their educational systems, were necessarily the best or the only way forward. Thirdly, the growing gulf between HICs and LDCs threw into question the claims made by structural-functionalists for investment in education. If their claims were so good why was economic growth so sluggish, why was there growing social and political unrest, why were there so many inequalities etc.? Out of this re-questioning emerged a new genre of comparative studies that recognized the need to study the educational rights of linguistic and ethnic minorities. Even so, most comparative studies were concerned either with educational policies or with language policies in different societies, (e.g., Kirp, 1979; Watson, 1976, 1979; Wirt, 1979), although, as this author has pointed out, the problems thrown up by these issues in many LDCs are still largely overlooked by international aid agencies (Watson, 1994).

Before turning to the different approaches and paradigms adopted by comparativists in their analysis of plural societies it might be useful to comment on the value of comparative studies.

The Value of Comparative Studies

While Noah (1984) has rightly observed that although there is both use and abuse in the study of comparative data, (particularly if information is selected or

distorted in order to justify a particular argument), an open-minded approach can frequently reveal some interesting insights into particular issues. It must not be forgotten that 'all comparative educators have been concerned to take into consideration the cultural, social, political, economic and religious features of a society or a nation in an attempt to analyse an education system' (Mallinson, 1981). It matters little what name is given to those *forces* (Kandel, 1933) which shape an education system — Hans (1949) referred to them as 'factors', Mallinson (1975) as 'determinants', Holmes (1981) as 'laws', King (1979) as 'the contextualization' of an education system, Watson (1985) as 'external influences and constraints'; what does matter is that the issue of cultural diversity cannot be seen in isolation from individual national contexts. Educational policies *per se* cannot be seen in isolation from other social, political and economic policies. This is particularly true when one considers educational provision in multiethnic/lingual/cultural societies. Most formal education systems are essentially conservative insofar as they seek to transmit the dominant values of society existing at any given time to the next generation. This is not too difficult in a relatively homogenous society like Denmark, Greece, Japan, Korea or Norway, since the value system is largely accepted. Nor is it too difficult in revolutionary societies such as Cuba, China, or Iran when the rulers believe that a whole new generation has to be moulded to a new philosophy if political progress is to be made. It is not always successful, as recent events in the former Soviet Union and Easten Europe have revealed. However, in multiethnic/lingual societies, the situation is usually highly complex because education policies, and hence the place of the teacher within these policies, can be used to enforce homogeneity or to encourage heterogeneity. They will invariably be influenced either by the relative size (and power) of different ethnic/linguistic groups within society, the power of the, ruling élites and the desire to create national unity or ethnic diversity. This is particularly acute in many developing countries where the educational policies pursued may actually exacerbate ethnic conflict and disharmony, especially if there is a rural–urban dichotomy along ethnic lines. Thus, if the better schools in urban areas tend to favour certain ethnic groups as they do, for example, in China or Burma or Sri Lanka, and as they did in colonial Malaya, economic and educational imbalances are apt to be seen as discriminatory on racial grounds. Occasionally, racial antagonism reaches the point where it becomes politically explosive, as in Fiji, Sri Lanka and Tibet. How far different governments respond educationally to the presence of different ethnic, linguistic or religious groups in their societies is part of the role of the comparative educator to investigate.

The point at issue is that official responses, in the form of the educational and linguistic policies pursued, are often influenced as much by how those governments achieved power, especially if they run along ethnic or linguistic grounds, as by how they perceive different groups within their midst. For example, the Han Chinese have always regarded themselves as superior to all other ethnic groups within their national boundaries, and have consistently pursued policies designed to ensure their superiority (Hawkins, 1978; Watson,

1981). The French and British colonial governments operated on the same premise. However, given that most culturally and ethnically plural societies have become so 'artificially' (through conquest, war, boundary changes, colonial domination, migration), there is always the likelihood of a clash of interests between different groups. According to Horowitz (1985), ethnic conflict rather than harmony is never far away. It may be suppressed, but given the right context conflict can easily erupt. The question is how can such conflict be contained? Do certain policies exacerbate tensions? There is little doubt that the policies of the Fijian Government in the late 1980s which supported the indigenous population against the Indian 'intruders' (although they had been settled and integrated for several generations); that the dominance of particular tribal groups in Nigeria and Uganda; and that the attempts of the Singhalese in Sri Lanka during the past two decades to redress their educational and economic position *vis à vis* the Tamils who had benefitted most from the British colonial education system, all created an ethnic backlash in the countries concerned. Part of the role of the comparativist is to analyse these situations and to seek to explain and perhaps predict future developments.

Thus, one justification for comparative studies is to analyse interethnic relations in different societies. Another justification for looking comparatively is not only that we can better understand our own system, but that lessons can be learned, ideas borrowed and, hopefully, reforms introduced. Above all, comparative studies 'can help us to appreciate, and reflect upon, our own situation from a broader and different standpoint,' (Watson, 1985). How comparativists have set about this task is the subject of the next section.

Comparative Approaches and Paradigms

By far the majority of comparative studies concerned with plural societies have either focused on single *national* contexts, as for example, work undertaken by Bray (1984) on Papua New Guinea, Bullivant (1984) on Australia, Craft (1984) or Kirp (1979) on England and Wales, Hawkins (1978) on China, or Watson (1976) on Malaysia; or on *regions* such as the Caribbean, (Brock, 1982; Smith, 1975) or South East Asia (Watson, 1976). Even anthologies such as this volume, have tended to take this approach, (see, for example, Banks and Lynch, 1986; Bhatnagar, 1981; Brock and Tulaciewicz,' 1985; Corner, 1984; Megarry *et al.*, 1981). Very few studies have sought to look *across societies*, comparatively developing a particular theme. Grant (1977) was an early exception when he looked at language policies in multilingual contexts. Siguan and Mackay (1987) developed this theme in greater detail some years later. Watson (1979) was particularly concerned with the balance of power in developing educational policies irrespective of the political framework of a society, while Bullivant (1981) was at pains to show that irrespective of the policies advocated or enshrined in legislation, those who controlled power would also control the curriculum content and the textbooks.

Although most comparative studies have been policy-oriented, that is they have been at pains to analyse how and why particular educational policies were developed in plural societies, the two overriding theoretical paradigms or conceptual frameworks used to develop comparative studies of ethnic relations have been the concepts of dominant and subordinate group relationships, and the belief in the inevitability of conflict in plural societies. Invariably they are inextricably interlinked, and are related to power and the political perceptions of different groups by those who hold power. Schermerhorn (1970) developed some of the early comparative thinking about dominant and subordinate group relations insofar as these affected education policies. This was later developed in American literature by Wirt (1979) and La Belle and White (1980), whose main contention was that the willingness of minority or subordinate groups to accept the educational framework, whether in terms of institutions, language policies, or control of the curriculum, led either to assimilation, unequal cultural pluralism or even colonialism. According to Epstein (1995), the dominant-subordinate group relations analysis was further developed by Ogbu, (1982, 1983, 1991) by likening the subordinate groups to being treated like inferior castes, as for example in India or Sri Lanka, with little or no chance of being able to alter the obstacles placed in their way either through schooling or through limited job opportunities. The analysis of all these theorists, however, offers little hope of change, and fails to identify how minority groups can bring pressure to bear on the dominant power holders.

Horowitz (1985), on the other hand, quite clearly believes that unfair or unbalanced interethnic relations in plural societies inevitably leads to conflict. The point at issue is how this conflict is contained. Watson (1993) develops this thesis in the context of educational provision by arguing that conflict can be contained, or exacerbated, depending upon official attitudes to the curriculum, language policies, separate school provision and positive discrimination (or affirmative action in the American context). Bacchus (1989) and Sutherland (1979) especially believe that interethnic harmony can be maintained, provided that opportunities for the preservation of language, religious beliefs and historical/cultural values are upheld. It matters little whether these are in state/public schools or in separate community schools. It is in these areas, however, that the issue of teacher education becomes so important.

Although comparativists have been concerned about the place of the teacher in different societies (e.g., Judge *et al.*, 1994), there have been few, if any, studies that have been specifically concerned with *teacher education* in plural societies. That is why this present volume is of such importance, and it is to some comparative insights into teacher education that we now turn.

Teacher Training in Plural Societies

The place of the teacher, and hence of the role of teacher training/education in pluralist societies would appear to depend upon at least four key variables:

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- the type of society involved;
- the place of, and the perception of, different ethnic, religious or linguistic groups within that society, especially as perceived by those who hold power;
- the official language policies, if any, that are pursued; and
- whether or not the teacher is a public servant employed by and allocated to schools by government, or whether s/he is a free agent allowed to go wherever vacancies occur.

Because these variables are often intertwined it is not always easy to disentangle them.

The Type of Society

This applies at several levels. Administratively, certain societies are federal either because of size or history, or because of ethnic/linguistic divisions. Amongst the former would be Australia, Canada, Germany and the USA. Some would also include the United Kingdom. Amongst the latter would be India, Nigeria, Malaysia, Spain and the former USSR. With the exceptions of India and the former USSR, teacher education was very much a state or provincial matter, and thus any concern for preparing teachers for working in a plural school environment would be the responsibility of the regional governments. Thus, only certain Canadian provinces and US states ensured that teachers in training should be prepared for multiethnic/lingual classrooms. In Australia, the Federal Government insisted on developing a curriculum for a multicultural Australia during the 1970s and 1980s, and then required the colleges of advanced education to adapt their teacher education programmes accordingly.

However, that is only part of the story since even in unitary states there are different approaches to teacher education. For example, in more centralized countries such as China, France, Greece, Japan, Sweden and Thailand, the government decides on the content of teacher education; whereas in decentralized countries such as the UK (until the advent of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) began to lay down certain requirements on all teacher education institutions) each institution was free to develop its own curriculum. This was why there was such a wide variety of educational provision for preparing teachers for multicultural/ethnic classrooms in the 1980s (Watson and Roberts, 1988).

The Place of Different Groups in Society, and Language Policies

The content of teacher education programmes will therefore vary according to a country's administrative and political control, although a major problem in most developing countries is that far too many trainee teachers spend a large

Table 13.1: Percentage of curriculum devoted to 10 major content areas, by GNP per capita in the 1980s

	GNP per Capita			
Curriculum	**Low**	**Lower Middle**	**Upper Middle**	**High**
Language	37%	34%	36%	34%
Maths	18	17	18	19
Science	7	9	8	6
Social science/studies	8	10	9	9
Moral	5	6	4	5
Music and Art	9	8	11	13
Physical Education	7	6	7	9
Hygiene	1	2	2	1
Vocational	6	7	3	1
Other	3	3	2	3

Source: Lockheed, M. and Verspoor, A. (1990), *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries*, Washington, World Bank

amount of time on studying basic academic subjects compared with teaching practice or the study of pedagogical educational issues (see Table 13.1). How far recognition is given to pluralism in the classroom, however, will very much depend upon how different groups are perceived by governments in terms of their economic, political or numerical position. Thus, in societies that are multiethnic or multilingual as a result of war, colonialism, conquest and history — such as Belgium, Cameroon, China, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, Singapore, Switzerland, the former USSR, to name but a few, emphasis in teacher education is inevitably concerned with linguistic and cultural differences. Teachers are expected to be at least bilingual, and where relevant, to be aware of ethnic and cultural differences. This is particularly true in India, Malaysia and Singapore. Trainee teachers are recruited from different ethnic groups and are expected to understand, and be sympathetic towards, other groups; but in all cases, the national language (Hindi or Bahasa Malaysia) has to be promoted above the other languages. This has often had unfortunate implications for interethnic relations. In China, there are specialist teacher training institutes for minority nationalities where they learn both their own languages and culture as well as being made familiar with Han Chinese. On the other hand, Han Chinese teachers do not have to be familiar with the minority nationalities unless they are to be posted to Sinjiang Province or Tibet or other regions dominated by minority nationality groups. Another group of countries, typified by Japan and Thailand, might pay lipservice to having minority groups in their midst, but since official policy has been one of assimilation, of the Koreans in the case of Japan and of the Chinese in the case of Thailand, there is no accommodation of differences recognized in the teacher training colleges.

Policies in societies affected by large scale immigration of different groups, such as certain western European countries, Australia and Canada, have varied and developed considerably. Thus, while concern in Australia and England was initially to raise awareness of different groups and to prepare teachers to teach

English as a Second/Foreign Language with the long-term goal of assimilating minority groups, these policies changed under demographic pressures in certain areas; the recognition that certain groups were underachieving academically, highlighted in the UK by the Rampton (HMSO, 1981) and the Swann Reports (HMSO, 1985); and 'liberal' academic moves towards the need to recognize, and celebrate cultural diversity, which in turn meant 'awareness raising' multicultural education courses. Unfortunately, a number of courses were hijacked in England under an 'anti-racist' banner, and helped persuade the Conservative Government of the need to introduce a national curriculum which celebrated ethnocentricity and marginalized pluralism. This debate continues.

Other liberal democracies vary considerably in their approach. Sweden, for example, makes provision not only for awareness of the different cultural groups to be found within the school system, but it is also possible to be trained to teach one of over fifty different languages. France has some specialist provision for teaching one of ten languages of the major immigrant groups to be found in French schools (Ager, 1996), but little attempt is made to teach about different cultures. This partly accounts for the ignorance surrounding the anti-Islamic backlash in France. Indeed, according to Ager, although the presence of nearly 4 million foreign nationals in France has forced the Government to recognize different linguistic and cultural problems in schools, much of the debate in recent years has been about the preservation of French as the national language. Germany, on the other hand, has had a variety of arrangements for teacher education, ranging from directly recruiting Turkish and Croatian teachers, to allowing local Turkish and Croatian embassies to recruit teachers, and to providing courses in the colleges of education. All that can be said is that there is no single pattern of teacher preparation.

The Teacher as a Public Servant

In most countries of the world, the teacher is either a civil servant or is a public servant employed by a national Teaching Commission. As such, therefore, he/she is very much an agent of the state with legal responsibilities for teaching a national curriculum according to prescribed texts and working towards a national examination. Only in the Anglo-Saxon countries of Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States of America has there been any stress on individual freedom and autonomy, both in the classroom and in terms of employment. Inevitably, therefore, official attitudes to teacher education and the content of teacher education courses hinges upon the perceptions of government towards minority groups, as outlined in the previous section.

Thus, the areas of manoeuvre are fairly limited. Government directives have concentrated on recruiting ethnic or specialist language teachers; providing courses which give some understanding of the diversity and complexity of a plural society; specialist training in second language teaching; and conveying an understanding of the different cultural and social characteristics of particular

groups within society. In most cases, too little time is available in teacher training courses for students to be offered anything but a superficial overview, as Table 13.1 previously cited, indicates. This is particularly true of less developed countries. However, as a result of changes in teacher education in England and Wales, which have seen a growing emphasis on practical teaching in schools (66 per cent of the time) and a reduction of theoretical concerns, opportunities for developing systematic programmes of teaching in multicultural/ethnic classrooms have been seriously undermined. The growing backlash against affirmative action and bilingual education in the USA could well have similar effects.

Ultimately, however, what education or training is provided for those teaching in multicultural/lingual/ethnic schools, and what elements are stressed, or ignored, will depend on official perceptions of the nature of the pluralism of that particular society, and how far pluralism is to be encouraged, celebrated or tolerated and how far it is to be suppressed. There needs to be far more comparative research in this area. That is why this book is such a welcome beginning.

Note

1 Recently in North America, there has been some disagreement about the roots and purposes of these two fields, international and comparative education, which is not part of the present discussion, but readers may care to refer to Epstein, 1992, 1994 and Wilson, 1994.

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